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Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 1, January 1984

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SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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THE EXERCISE OF COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP--A POWERFUL FORCE BEHIND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 84 pp 1-5

[Editorial]

[Text] During the past 3 years, by working hard in accordance with the guidelines set forth by the 5th Congress of the Party, our people won large victories in socialist construction and the defense of the socialist fatherland. Having experienced a serious decline in 1979 and 1980, our country's economy is improving and gradually becoming stable, thus laying the foundation for new stages of development. Industrial production, agricultural production and national income have been increasing each year. Agriculture has made encouraging strides forward. During the past 3 years, average grain output increased by 1 million tons per year, as a result of which our country no longer needs to import grain. Industry, small industry and the handicraft trades made efforts to overcome their difficulties with energy and materials and develop existing capabilities, thus raising output value significantly in 1983 compared to 1980. The output value of local industry, small industry and the handicraft trades far exceeded the previous record year. Advances were also made in communications and transportation. In capital construction, more efforts were focused on key projects supporting the primary objectives of industry and agriculture. A number of key projects in power production, mechanical engineering, cement, paper and fiber production, communications, water conservancy and other sectors were or will soon be completed, thus creating new production capacity of important significance in the development of the national economy. Socialist transformation within agriculture in the provinces of Nam Bo has recently been intensified. Market management has begun to be reorganized. Marked progress has been made in the procurement of grain. Changes have begun to occur in export activities and the value of exports has been increasing with each passing year.

The achievements described above have been primarily due to an increasingly deep understanding of the correct line of the party and the application of this line in a manner increasingly suited to the specific conditions of each sector, each locality and installation; to the changes that have been made in economic policy and in economic management, changes that have begun to eliminate the style of management characterized by bureaucracy and

subsidization, cause workers to perform their production jobs with enthusiasm and concern themselves with the products produced, create good conditions for the application of scientific and technological advances and heighten the responsibility and tap the initiative and creativity of the various management levels; and to the efforts made by the entire country, by all localities and installations together with the sectors on the central level, by all economic organizations as well as scientific and technical organizations in the spirit of collective ownership and self-reliance to overcome the difficulties being faced and develop the strengths and potentials of the economy. The achievements described above have also been due to the cooperation and tremendous assistance of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. It truly represents a large victory of very important significance for our people to record such achievements under very difficult circumstances and in the face of the embargo and sabotage being carried out by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists.

However, the advances that we have made in production have not been uniform, strong or stable. Although output has increased, productivity, quality and efficiency are still low. Socialist production relations have been strengthened and solidified slowly; socialist transformation has been carried out slowly; the socialist economy has declined in some respects and, in particular, the state-operated sector has developed slowly and is not worthy of its role as the dominant force within the entire economy. There is still much disorder in distribution. The economy still faces major difficulties and imbalances. Many difficulties are still being encountered in the material and cultural lives of manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces. The population continues to grow very rapidly.

The difficulties mentioned above stem from objective causes within our country's economy, namely, the facts that small-scale production is still widespread, material-technical bases are still weak, there is a serious shortage of energy and materials and the enemy is sabotaging us in many ways, especially in the economic and social fields. On the other hand, they also stem from such subjective causes as not having a full understanding of the party's line on the socialist revolution and its line on building the socialist economy, shortcomings in our thinking and organizational work, shortcomings in observing the principle of democratic centralism and shortcomings in the way we guide and organize implementation.

By rectifying our subjective shortcomings and making every effort to overcome our objective difficulties, we will surely advance our country's economy to a new stage of development.

On the basis of the achievements recorded during the past 3 years, our people begin the new year filled with enthusiasm and are determined to successfully carry out the tasks of the 1984 socio-economic plan that were set forth in the resolution of the 5th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee.

The year 1984 as well as the next year (1985) occupy an extremely important position. During these 2 years, our people must successfully complete the tasks and meet the main targets for the period from 1981 to 1985, thus

insuring that "the economic and social situation is basically stabilized," while making very good preparations for the 1986-1990 plan.

The plans for 1984 and 1985 are closely linked to implementing the guidelines for socio-economic development by 1990 that were set forth during the proceedings of the 5th Party Congress. Under these guidelines, we must continue to promote the full-scale development of agricultural production, considering this to be the front of foremost importance; develop the potentials that lie in our labor and arable land to the highest degree possible in order to fully resolve the grain and food problem; promote livestock production; and develop the production of industrial crops very strongly in order to create additional sources of raw materials for industry and rapidly increase the sources of export goods. Every effort must be made to develop the agricultural product processing industry and the consumer goods industry. We must make full use of existing installations and build new ones where necessary in heavy industry, that is, in the energy, mechanical engineering, iron and steel, electronic, chemical, building material and communications-transportation sectors, for the purpose of developing agriculture and light industry and gradually establishing a rational industrial-agricultural structure. Everything possible must be done to quickly begin the construction of several heavy industrial projects of key significance in the process of the industrialization of the country. We must strongly develop science and technology, cultural activities, education, public health services and so forth to support socio-economic construction and development well and mold the new, socialist man. We must achieve the goal of stabilizing and gradually improving the material and cultural lives of the people.

In order to partially implement the above mentioned guidelines for economic and social development by 1990, the 1984 and 1985 plans must resolve the following key problems of pressing importance:

- Accelerating agricultural, forestry and marine product production.
- Bringing about a strong change in the development of industry, construction and communications-transportation.
- Bringing about fundamental changes in distribution and circulation.
- Rapidly increasing our exports.
- Promoting scientific and technical activities.
- Bringing about development in the fields of education, culture, information and public health.
- Continuing to improve the economic management and planning system.
- Further heightening the responsibility of party organizations and party members in the implementation of the resolutions and directives of the party and state.

The important measure in rapidly increasing the social product is to make good use of labor and arable land by expanding the sectors and trades, establishing a new division of social labor and redistributing labor among the various areas of the country so that we can make the greatest possible effort to provide jobs to social labor, most importantly to youths, and meet the target set by the 5th Congress concerning the redistribution of labor. The district must be used as the base for organizing and utilizing labor and arable land and expanding the sectors and trades.

Priority must be given to providing the conditions needed to increase the production of energy (electricity, coal). We must practice economy in the consumption of energy and use it in a rational manner. We must increase the production of fertilizer, pesticides and building materials and develop the production of machines for agriculture as well as consumer machine products. Importance must be attached to developing the processing industry and the production of consumer goods. Every effort must be made to practice economy and reduce material costs per unit of product, reduce production costs and raise labor productivity and product quality. Efforts must be focused on the construction of key projects, increasing the rate of construction and reducing project completion time so that projects can be put into use quickly.

The state must control the flow of goods and money, control the market and prices and unify the management of the distribution and circulation of primary products and goods. We must plan the distribution of goods and organize planned trade between industry and agriculture, mainly through two-way contracts, in order to promptly and effectively support production and everyday life. Each source of revenue must be rapidly increased. We must gradually re-establish the new order in the field of prices. The real income of wage earners must be maintained. We must vigorously promote the planned parenthood campaign, in an effort to reduce the rate of population growth to 1.7 percent in 1985.

We must revise, amend and improve the policies and regulations that are designed to provide incentive for workers. Both the contents and methods of planning must be improved to insure that the various levels are truly the masters of their plans and make good use of the four different capabilities that exist in order to formulate plans from the installations upward and closely link their plans to cost accounting and socialist business procedures.

We must take determined steps to reorganize the management and cadre apparatus, beginning in the key sectors, localities and installations; eliminate unnecessary intermediate organizations and reduce the administrative staff on all levels and in all sectors; and replace cadres who fail to strictly comply with the positions and policies of the party, do not set examples and are unable to fulfill the responsibilities assigned to them.

To successfully carry out the tasks of the 1984 socio-economic plan, it is necessary to employ the strength of the collective ownership exercised by the laboring people. It is they who are the true masters of our system, who are the direct masters of the various socio-economic processes. Only by upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and tapping the dynamism and creativity of our tens of millions of laborers is it possible to

successfully carry out the socio-economic tasks established by the party. Le Duan said: "Collective ownership is the goal of socialism and, at the same time, a very powerful force behind socialist construction. Therefore, in the building, transformation and management of the economy and culture and in the planning of the national economy, we must fully adhere to the viewpoint of exercising collective ownership." The general secretary has also said that the key to implementing the economic strategy adopted by the party is to exercise collective ownership and utilize all available strengths, the strength of the entire country, the strength of all sectors and levels, the strength of all three levels exercising ownership together: the central level, the local level and the basic level. Our country is an entity; each sector, each locality and each unit is a part of this entity. The national economy is a unified entity, the local economy is an organic part of this unified entity. Socialist economic management must observe the principle of centralism and unity. This is an objective requirement. The central state represents the right of ownership of the people of the entire country and manages the entire economic and social life of the country.

In past years, our Vietnam was occupied by foreign enemies and we Vietnamese, having lost our country, became the slaves of foreign enemies. Today, foreign enemies have been swept from our country and our people have won the right to be the masters of their country. The Vietnamese are the collective masters of Vietnam. Every person, every unit, every locality and every sector is the master of the entire country, is responsible to the entire country. The problems that face each sector, each locality, each unit and each person must be viewed from the perspective of the entire country so that we can mobilize each person, each unit, each locality and each sector to work together to resolve these problems. Every achievement and victory of every unit, every locality and every sector contribute to the common achievements and victories of the entire country. Conversely, every mistake and failure of each unit, each locality and each sector has a negative impact upon the entire country. "For the sake of the entire country, together with the entire country," every person, every unit, every locality and every sector must make the fullest possible effort to successfully build socialism and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

It is the policy of our party to build the system of socialist collective ownership on the basis of the following mechanism: the party leads, the people exercise ownership and the state manages. Collective ownership is established on the three basic levels: ownership on a nationwide basis, ownership within each locality and ownership at each installation. However, saying that ownership is exercised on the three basic levels does not mean that each level is the master of itself, rather, all three levels join together in exercising ownership on a nationwide basis, within each area, within each locality and at each installation. Our people have the right and the obligation to exercise ownership on all three levels, the most important one being ownership on a nationwide basis. Exercising ownership at installations and within one's locality does not merely mean being concerned with one's unit or locality, but also being concerned with the entire country so that the exercise of ownership on a nationwide basis is improved. Only when ownership is exercised on a nationwide basis well, is it possible to exercise ownership within the locality and at the installation well.

In order to exercise ownership on a nationwide basis well, it is necessary, within each locality and installation, to harshly criticize and take determined steps to eliminate bureaucratic centralism, conservatism, slowness, remoteness from reality, remoteness from the masses, lack of trust in the creativity of the masses, slowness to accept the new and the failure to promptly support production and everyday life at installations. On the other hand, it is necessary to harshly criticize and take determined steps to correct the maladies of decentralization, fragmentation, doing as one sees fit, a lack of vigilance in the face of the schemes and acts of sabotage of the enemy and lax leadership and management.

To successfully carry out the tasks of the socio-economic plan set forth by the party, it is necessary to display a high degree of self-reliance, a high revolutionary-offensive spirit, mobilize the combined strengths of the party, the state and the masses, of the central, local and basic levels and launch intense movements of the masses to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution.

By upholding their tradition of unity and consensus and displaying their spirit of collective ownership, our people will surely successfully implement the state plan for 1984, build strong momentum for 1985 and complete the socio-economic tasks set forth by the 5th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee well.

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EXERCISING COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP, UTILIZING ALL AVAILABLE STRENGTHS AND
BRINGING ABOUT PROFOUND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 84 pp 6-20

[Speech by Le Duan at the 5th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, 7
December 1983]

[Text] Dear comrades,

This plenum of our Central Committee is concerned with two issues: first, considering and adopting the guidelines and tasks of the 1984 socio-economic plan and the targets for 1985; secondly, examining and deciding a number of matters regarding the reorganization of distribution and circulation.

In the several days of debate, you have presented many worthwhile ideas. Before the plenum adopts the draft resolution, I would like to make some additional remarks concerning the following several matters:

The Evaluation of the Situation

All of the members of the Central Committee are in agreement with the evaluation of our achievements and difficulties as presented in the draft resolution. What we need to do is very deeply analyze the reasons for our accomplishments as well as our failures.

The changes and advances that have occurred have been due to gaining an increasingly clear understanding of the correct line set forth at the 4th Congress, which was defined in further detail at the 5th Congress of the Party, and applying it in a manner consistent with the actual situation.

They have also been due--and this is very important--to the changes that have been made in economic management, including planning and the various incentive policies, changes which, although only initial, have had the effect of encouraging laborers to perform their production jobs with enthusiasm and encouraging all levels and sectors, especially the localities and installations, to display strong initiative and creativity in the development of economic potentials. Without these changes, the advances in the various fields could not have been made.

The achievements that have been recorded are the results of the combined efforts and strengths of the entire country and of a widespread creative labor movement among the masses. The localities and installations have made extraordinary efforts. All sectors on the central level, from agriculture to industry, from production to distribution, circulation and transportation, have made major efforts. All economic cadres and scientific and technical cadres have made positive contributions. Every product produced, be it a kilogram of paddy or a kilowatt hour of electricity, has been the result of this common effort. Every product, be it a product of industry or agriculture, has not only embodied the sweat of production workers and the minds of scientists, technicians and persons working in the fields of culture and art, but also the blood of soldiers. Even the growth of each locality and installation has been the result of this combined strength.

Our achievements have also been the result of international cooperation and assistance, primarily from the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries.

The basic lesson that we have learned concerning our recent achievements has been the lesson of exercising collective ownership and making use of all available strengths.

We brought the economy through the decline that followed the serious upheavals during 1979 and 1980 and have gradually moved it forward, achieved stability in one area after another and ushered in new and strong stages of development. However, the difficulties we face in production, in distribution-circulation and regarding the standard of living are still large.

This situation is due to many objective and subjective causes, which were analyzed at the 3rd and 4th Plenums of the Party Central Committee.

We must recognize all the difficulties that have been caused by the fact that our country's economy is still predominantly an economy of small-scale production, by the consequences of the many years of war and by the wide-ranging sabotage now being conducted by the enemy, especially in the economic and social fields. As we advance from small-scale production, we must simultaneously perform two strategic tasks, building socialism and defending the fatherland. Within socialist construction, we must meet the daily needs of the people while accumulating capital for the industrialization of the country. It is this that is the underlying cause of each difficulty. Our difficulties will remain and continue to be large until we achieve large-scale production, until we establish large-scale industry. This is also the reason why labor productivity, product quality and economic returns cannot be rapidly raised, why the standard of living of laborers cannot be immediately and markedly improved. I say this to show the key role played by socialist industrialization and show that we must be determined to carry out socialist industrialization in order to make strong progress.

However, we must also recognize the shortcomings that we ourselves have committed.

These are shortcomings that result from the failure to gain a thorough understanding of the line of the party and clearly recognize the sharp nature of the struggle between ourselves and the enemy, between socialism and capitalism.

They are shortcomings that have occurred in the process of improving the management and planning system. Socio-economic management is not, of course, simple work. Although the fraternal countries have experienced many years of socialist construction, they must still look for more effective management methods and still talk about continuously improving the management system, most importantly the planning system. What must be said is that we have allowed unnecessary mistakes to occur and have repeatedly committed shortcomings that have been criticized and for which corrective guidelines have been established. We have been slow to change outmoded organizations and policies and have allowed bureaucratic centralism and administrative subsidization to persist; at the same time, we have not taken prompt steps to eliminate decentralization, partialism, localism, the lack of organization and the lack of discipline.

Responsibility to the party, to the people, demands that each level and each sector be very harsh with itself concerning its mistakes and shortcomings. However, we must realize that it is an achievement very deserving of pride for our economy to remain stable and move forward in the face of the country's very difficult, even grave, situation. We must emphasize this fact and move steadily forward on the momentum of this development.

The Exercise of Socialist Collective Ownership

Our party's line on the socialist revolution is: "Firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution, and carrying out socialist industrialization are the central tasks during the entire period of transition..."

If examined from the perspective of a system, the dictatorship of the proletariat is a matter of who controls society; in essence, however, it is synonymous with socialist collective ownership. Collective ownership is the objective of socialism and, at the same time, a very powerful force behind socialist construction. Therefore, in the building, transformation and management of the economy and culture and in the planning of the national economy, we must fully adhere to the viewpoint of collective ownership. That is, we must successfully uphold the right of ownership of the laboring people, the true masters of our system, must tap the dynamism and creativity of the millions and millions of people among the masses, the direct masters of socio-economic processes.

As the 5th Congress of the Party pointed out, the economic strategy for the 5 years from 1981 to 1985 and the 1980's is the essence of socialist industrialization in the immediate stage: "We must focus our efforts on strongly developing agriculture, considering agriculture to be the front of foremost importance, advance agriculture one step closer to large-scale socialist production, make every effort to accelerate consumer goods

production, continue to build a number of important heavy industrial sectors and coordinate agriculture, the consumer goods industry and heavy industry within a rational industrial-agricultural structure."

What is the key to implementing this strategy?

It is the exercise of collective ownership and the utilization of all available strengths--the strengths of the entire country, the strengths of all sectors and levels and the strengths of all three levels exercising ownership together: the central level, the local level and the basic level.

Through these strengths, we must, from the very outset, become the masters of the precious assets that lie in our labor and arable land. We must fully utilize our 27 million laborers and make the best possible use of the 7 million hectares of agricultural land that are now being farmed and the nearly 12 million hectares of forest land and nearly 13 million hectares of fields, silt fields, hillsides and terraces that are not being utilized. We must develop a full-scale agriculture, place grain production in the position of foremost importance and work very hard to resolve the grain problem well while very strongly developing the production of industrial crops (both annual and perennial) and livestock production. Together with developing agriculture, we must develop industry in a corresponding manner, especially the processing industry, and produce many industrial products for consumption and exportation. Thus, in this initial stage, even though we do not yet have large-scale industry, we still can, if we know how to be the masters of and utilize labor, arable land and the sectors and trades well, advance our country's economy one step closer to large-scale production, meet the minimum needs for food, clothing, shelter and education, meet the health care needs of the people and gradually accumulate additional capital for industrialization while meeting the basic needs involved in strengthening the national defense and security systems.

We must exercise ownership on all three fundamental levels: exercise ownership on a nationwide basis, exercise ownership within each locality (each province, municipality, precinct and district) and exercise ownership at each installation (villages and cooperatives, enterprises, federations of enterprises and so forth).

These three levels of ownership operate under the common mechanism: the party leads, the people exercise ownership and the state manages.

The various levels exercise ownership on the basis of the entire country being an entity and each locality and unit being a part of this entity; the national economy is a unified entity, the local economy is an organic part of this unified entity.

The central state, representing the right of ownership of the entire country, manages the entirety of the country's economic and social life through the economic-technical sectors and the economies of the different localities and areas. Centralism and unity within economic and social management are a necessity. This is the advantage of socialism that we must use to mobilize the strengths of the entire country to build the material-technical bases of the entire country and resolve the socio-economic problems of all the people.

Saying that we use the plan as the center of economic management and social management also means that we use the advantage afforded by centralism and unity to regulate the various socio-economic processes throughout the country.

The local government represents the local people and, at the same time, represents the central state in directly managing the economy, culture and everyday life within the locality and resolving problems related to the interests of the local people while helping to build the country and exercise ownership on a nationwide basis.

The relationship among the central, local and basic levels exists in all socialist countries. However, in view of our country's circumstances, our party emphasizes the importance of the local economy and the need to tap the initiative and creativity of the local and basic management levels. This is because it is only by tapping the initiative and creativity of the installations and localities, especially the districts, in the advance from small-scale production that we can make good use of labor, arable land and the various sectors and trades, which are sources of capital that are closely linked to each locality and installation, not only from the viewpoint of territory, but also in terms of economic, technical, social and natural factors. In the advance from small-scale production, a new division of labor is in the process of forming and various sectors and trades are gradually coming into being and developing. This demands that certain balances of a partial nature be established, balances that can only be easily established within a specific area, within an individual locality and installation. Moreover, organizing the material and cultural lives of the laboring people well must also be a local effort, an effort based on the locality.

Thus, the exercise of ownership on the three different fundamental levels is a necessity. A division of labor and a division of responsibilities are also necessities.

It must be understood that exercising ownership on the three different fundamental levels does not mean that each level only exercises ownership on its level, rather, all three levels exercise ownership together within each area, each locality and installation. The role that the central level fulfills for the provinces and municipalities is very important. The role that the provinces and municipalities fulfill for the precincts and districts as well as the role that the precincts and districts fulfill for the subwards and villages are also very important. The laboring people have the right and the obligation to exercise ownership on all three levels, the most important one being nationwide ownership.

Only by exercising ownership at their installations and within their localities can the laboring people directly display their ability to exercise ownership and exercise this right in a practical way in production, distribution, circulation and consumption. However, exercising ownership within one's installation or locality does not mean concerning oneself solely with one's unit or locality, rather, it is also necessary to concern oneself with the entire country so that the exercise of ownership on a nationwide basis is improved, so that the exercise of ownership is broader in scale, more

comprehensive and more decisive. The better ownership is exercised on a nationwide basis, the more fully it is exercised within the locality and installation.

In order to stimulate the development of agriculture at a more rapid rate, it is necessary to accelerate the development of such key industrial sectors as the power, coal, petroleum and natural gas, mechanical engineering, metal refining, communications-transportation, chemical and building material sectors. This effort demands large sources of capital. In addition to trade and cooperation with foreign countries, we must mobilize contributions by the entire country.

The bold assignment of management responsibilities to the localities and installations is designed to enable them to develop the potentials that lie in their labor, arable land and local sectors and trades better and accelerate the process of agglomeration at installations. However, agglomeration must go hand in hand with centralization and we must know how to establish the correct degree of centralization in order to accumulate capital for socialism.

It is the responsibility of the localities to improve their production and business with each passing day. Those places that are not producing sufficient food must endeavor to do so and eventually begin to accumulate capital. Those places that have begun to accumulate capital must eventually accumulate more, make contributions to the state that are commensurate with what they receive from the state and accumulate more and more capital for the central level in order to contribute to the industrialization of the country. Capitalism develops through exploitation. Socialism develops through hard work and frugality. We must restrict our consumption to the scope of what we produce, not borrow to eat. And, when we produce something, regardless of how small it might be, we must set something aside, must begin to accumulate more and more and concern ourselves with establishing state reserves on the central level and reserves on all other levels as well. Without accumulating capital, we cannot build the material-technical bases of socialism, cannot carry out expanded reproduction. Establishing the correct relationship between the accumulation of capital and consumption on a nationwide scale as well as within each locality, each installation and each family is of especially important significance.

Our understanding of the three levels exercising ownership, of the division of labor and the assignment of management responsibilities is based on this viewpoint, not on the viewpoint of dividing up our wealth, dividing up our interests and authority or dividing up the national economy into individual pieces. It is necessary to clearly distinguish between opposing bureaucratic centralism in economic and social management and insuring the centralism and unity of the national economy, which is part of the essence, one of the laws of socialism.

Economic Planning

In contrast to the capitalist system, which came into existence and has developed in a spontaneous manner through ungoverned competition and production, the socialist economy as well as the entire socialist system comes

into being in a planned manner through socio-economic changes that are planned from the very outset.

When our country entered the period of transition, our party stated that the plan absolutely must be used as the main tool in the transformation and development of the economy and that the various socio-economic processes must be led and guided on the basis of plans.

In keeping with the viewpoint concerning collective ownership described above, the planning of the national economy must be conducted on the three fundamental levels: the central, local and basic levels. The requirements that have been established with regard to the improvement of planning are designed to enable each level, on the basis of the fundamental, unified guidelines and targets of the entire country, to take the initiative and develop its potentials and strengths in the best possible manner. The central level must create the best possible conditions for the local and basic levels to accomplish this.

Plans must be formulated from installations upward. Within industry, importance must be attached to the plans of the enterprises and federations of enterprises. Within agriculture, importance must be attached to the district level plan because the district is the basic unit of large-scale, socialist agriculture. The various management levels, from the central to the local levels, must guide and work with installations in the formulation of their plans. On this basis, the plans of the installations must be integrated to form the plan of the locality, the sector and the entire country.

The central level has pointed out four different capabilities that localities and installations can use to balance their plans. These enable the localities and installations to exercise their right of ownership in planning and formulate socio-economic plans that are both positive and realistic. The potentials that the localities and installations have are still very large. These potentials lie in making full use of labor and arable land and full use of machine and equipment capacity. They also lie in making full use of each hour of work time and practicing full frugality in the consumption of each kilogram of paddy, each drop of gasoline and oil, each kilogram of supplies and raw materials.

While stressing the importance of the plans of installations and localities, we must never forget that it is the plan of the central level that plays the decisive role. It is the plan that controls the most important economic relations and balances, determines the most important products of the national economy, regulates socio-economic processes on a nationwide scale and insures that the fundamental law of socialism has an impact. On the basis of the plan of the central level, the localities and installations must truly take the initiative in developing sources of self-acquired capital and properly implement the guideline "the central level and the locality working together, the state and the people working together," utilizing it as a way to balance their plans better; at the same time, they must make truly appropriate and effective use of the supplies, raw materials and fuel provided by the central level.

The slowness with which socialist transformation has been carried out in recent years has adversely affected the rate of economic construction and development. It must be clearly understood that the socialist economy must achieve the position of absolute dominance within industry, agriculture and commerce.

We must endeavor to virtually complete, by 1985, the organizing of the farmers in the provinces of the South in collective production through the various forms of organization: production solidarity teams, production collectives and agricultural cooperatives.

We must immediately remove the bourgeoisie from commerce. The transformation of private, capitalist industry must be carried out under more suitable forms of organization. We must reorganize small industry and the handicraft trades. We must reorganize small merchants in conjunction with rearranging the product sectors within commerce.

Transformation must go hand in hand with building, with primary emphasis upon building.

When we talk about the five different economic segments in the South, we are talking about five segments in production, in the manufacture of goods, but we do not mean that each of the five sectors has a share in controlling the flow of goods and money. Goods and money must be under the unified management of the state.

Over the long range, the socialist economy will only consist of two basic segments, the state-operated and collective segments; in addition, there will also be a household economy and a small private economy.

We must do everything possible to strengthen the state-operated economy, especially state-operated industry, so that it increasingly plays the dominant role within the economy. We are not satisfied with the state of the state-operated economy, especially central state-operated industry, which has developed slowly in terms of productivity, quality and efficiency as well. Only about one-half of the production capacity of state-operated industry is being utilized, primarily because of the shortage of energy and raw materials. Within state-operated industry, more than a few enterprises are experiencing shortages of domestically produced raw materials because the state does not control either their production or circulation.

The central state-operated economy is not merely the responsibility of the central sectors, but must also be the concern of the localities and installations of the entire country. There is no reason to allow shortcomings in the division of labor and the division of management responsibilities to lead to a situation in which one locality or another allows supplies and raw materials to flow uncontrolled at a time when central state-operated enterprises are unable to operate because of shortages of these very raw materials.

Socialist Business

The socialist economy is an economy whose development is planned in order to produce much material and cultural wealth to satisfy the rising needs of the people on the basis of increasing technological development. Therefore, our socio-economic plan places foremost importance upon use value and the various material resource balances while also attaching very much importance to value and the various value balances. For this reason, the plan must be closely linked to cost accounting and socialist business procedures.

Socialist business is based primarily on the plan but also involves the effective use of the relations between goods and money to satisfy the three basic interests, the interests of all society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer and the use of material incentives in conjunction with political and ideological education in order to stimulate high returns from production. If we do not know how to apply these laws governing the relationships between goods and money, we will surely fall victim to bureaucracy and subsidization and will not be able to avoid restraining production. However, if we place too much emphasis upon these laws and allow them to regulate production, we will fall victim to the market mechanism and weaken planning.

The state must control production in conjunction with controlling goods, controlling the flow of money and controlling the market and prices in exact accordance with economic laws, not simply by means of administrative orders. This must be done primarily through economic measures; at the same time, educational efforts must be intensified and administrative measures must be taken in necessary cases. On the other hand, it is impossible in practice to encompass each and every capability that exists within a plan at the very outset; rather, through business activities, new capabilities are discovered, new factors emerge and many potentials become reality. Business and cost accounting stimulate and create the conditions for tapping the dynamism and creativity of producers and managers and heighten their sense of responsibility toward plan tasks. Socialist business, therefore, becomes a moving force, a factor in the implementation of plans. This is why plans must be coordinated with socialist business, why planning must necessarily encompass business activities. This also explains why the policies on prices, wages and bonuses, the regulations regarding the market, the trade of goods, materials and so forth play an extremely important role.

Capitalist business has profits as its objective and uses laissez faire competition as its method. Socialist business is designed to tap the dynamism and creativity of producers and managers in the development of each strength and capability for the purpose of meeting and exceeding the norms of the state plan and, on this basis, appropriately satisfying the interests of all society as well as the interests of each collective and each individual laborer. If this fundamental objective is abandoned, shortcomings and mistakes are unavoidable. The purpose of business must not be to satisfy partial, personal interests, thus harming the common interests of society. Taking the initiative in business means taking the initiative in applying the basic policies of the party and the regulations of the state regarding production and distribution-circulation for the purpose of producing many more products

for society. Initiative in business in no way means establishing on one's own policies and regulations that are contrary to common policies.

Socialist business must go hand in hand with cost accounting in order to establish an optimum plan for producing the largest output of products at the lowest possible cost. If economic work, in general, and the formulation of plans and business activities, in particular, are not carried out on the basis of cost accounting, it is impossible to quantify the specific activities of the economy, impossible to determine profit and loss and impossible to calculate returns. Without cost accounting, it is also impossible to determine the levels of consumption and capital accumulation, impossible to define the specific obligations and rights of each management level, impossible to evaluate quality, impossible to determine who is performing a job well and who is not, etc. In other words, only by practicing cost accounting is it possible to truly achieve full control over economic processes. Each enterprise, worksite, state farm, cooperative and store must practice cost accounting. The districts, provinces and the sectors must practice cost accounting. The entire economy must practice overall cost accounting. Cost accounting must be practiced not only for units as a whole, but also for each product and each activity in production, building, transportation and circulation. Each laborer must also practice cost accounting. The major shortcoming in management in past years has been the practice of giving light attention to cost accounting and operating without regard for profit, loss or returns.

Distribution and Circulation

To exercise ownership by means of the plan and socialist business is to exercise ownership in everything from production to distribution, circulation and consumption.

Through the initial improvements made to the management system, we partially corrected the malady of administrative bureaucracy and subsidization and have gradually established a planning mechanism that is closely linked to cost accounting and socialist business. However, before we could completely eliminate administrative bureaucracy and subsidization, an unwholesome tendency to operate on the basis of the "free" market mechanism arose, thus weakening the base of the plan and allowing bourgeois elements and dishonest merchants to operate at will and allowing the private economy and the "free" market to develop and encroach upon the position of the socialist market.

Can we restore socialist order in distribution and circulation?

To begin with, it must be stated that the abnormal situation that exists now is not the result of socialism being weaker than capitalism as some persons say. The socialist state (both the central and local levels) controls the most important forces of the economy and controls all land and labor. The socialist economy, in general, and the state-operated economy, in particular, are the forces that produce the vast majority of the instruments of production and the instruments of consumption of society; at the same time, they also control all sources of imported materials and goods. No power can successfully oppose these forces.

The difficulties being encountered in the field of distribution and circulation are partially due to the slow development of production and the fact that productivity, quality and efficiency within production are still low; however, they are mainly due to mistakes and shortcomings on our part, the most significant ones being controlling production but not controlling distribution and circulation, relaxing the dictatorship of the proletariat, a lack of vigilance in the struggle between ourselves and the enemy and the failure to fully understand the struggle between socialism and capitalism.

As mentioned above, we can control production and can, on the basis of controlling labor, land and the sectors and trades, rearrange and develop production in a planned manner. And, it is on the basis of production and in a manner closely linked to controlling production that we must immediately control distribution, circulation and consumption within each basic unit, within each village, subward, precinct, district, province and municipality and throughout the nation as a whole.

Each unit must determine what and how much to produce, determine labor and supply costs, determine what to sell and what to buy, determine at which price ratios to trade and, on this basis, calculate income, consumption and the accumulation of capital for expanded reproduction.

In addition to controlling production within each area and unit, the central level, the local level and the basic level must also control the products that are produced and control the market from the basic level upward and within each area and unit. It is incorrect to say that we cannot and should not tightly control goods and money because the level of production is still low and not many products are being produced. Rather, we must wage a determined struggle to insure that the state controls the flow of goods, controls the flow of money. This is the essential issue in the struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" on the distribution and circulation front at this point in time.

The state (central and local levels) must control the market through a rational division of labor and management responsibilities and must unify the management of and business in primary products. The state must have exclusive control of grain, control the vast majority of important agricultural products and commodities (regardless of whether they are produced by collectives or individuals) and control all important materials, instruments of production and consumer goods (both domestically produced and imported). The state must plan the distribution of the supply of goods and organize planned trade between industry and agriculture through the instruments of production supply system and the socialist commerce system at directed prices established by the state. We must quickly transform and improve the management of the market, remove the bourgeoisie from commerce and rid ourselves of profiteers, smugglers and deviant persons within the state apparatus and the state-operated economy who are collaborating with and serving as the lackeys of dishonest merchants. The "free" market should only be allowed to exist as a place for goods of secondary importance that are not under the exclusive management of the state to be traded between producers and consumers without going through the various types of profiteers. However, suitable measures must be employed to manage this "free" market.

To control the market, in particular, and control distribution and circulation, in general, it is necessary to expand the six different networks all the way down to the installation level: the procurement network, the commerce network, the supply network, the transport network, the processing industry and the credit network. Of decisive, immediate importance in controlling goods is the need to rapidly expand and strengthen socialist commerce (state-operated commerce and the marketing cooperatives), expand and reorganize the supply system, purify the corps of cadres and personnel engaged in commerce and supply work and improve business practices.

Prices are social relationships, among which the relationship between industry and agriculture and the relationship between the accumulation of capital and consumption are especially important. Once we control production, we are entirely capable of calculating, in a planned manner, the necessary expenditure of social labor and the various relationships regarding the value of goods traded, consequently, we can establish rational price ratios, primarily between industrial goods and agricultural, forestry and marine products.

On the basis of the foundations laid by controlling production and distribution as described above, we surely can and must work to unify the management of prices and stabilize prices. In the present situation, we must maintain the prices of essential goods. An effort must be made to bring down prices that have been artificially raised by enemy sabotage, chasing the market, competition in procurement and sales, profiteering, misappropriation, waste, conspiracy and bribery.

We must oppose the erroneous thinking and practice of those who maintain that because "free" market prices have risen to a level several times higher than the directed prices of the state, we must, in order to "be able to buy and sell goods," raise state prices as high or nearly as high as "free" market prices so that we can control goods and, on this basis, develop socialist commerce and regain control of the market.

Here, we must again raise the question:

--Should we allow saboteurs, bourgeoisie, the "free" market and private merchants to operate at will, to compete against the state in both purchases and sales, to conspire with undesirable elements within agencies, enterprises and stores to remove goods from state warehouses, freely engage in smuggling, monopolize prices and then force us to "compete" with them by raising prices so that we can buy and sell goods, all in the name of a "flexible price mechanism"

--Or should we block their hands, not permit them to freely buy and sell grain, primary agricultural products and important industrial goods, establish a dictatorship over saboteurs, profiteers and smugglers, re-establish socialist order within the market and guarantee the state's exclusive right to do business in important products? On this basis, the state can work with farmers and handicraftsmen to organize the planning of production and investments, organize contracts to supply instruments of production and distribute essential consumer goods directly to laborers at stable prices,

expand the use of credit and make procurements under contracts at the very places that products are produced (either by supplying goods in advance and taking delivery of agricultural products later or procuring agricultural products on credit and supplying goods later). In this way, it is possible to maintain directed prices and a rational relationship among prices, gain the support of the people and combat the practices of raising prices at will and buying and selling goods at high prices.

These, then, are the two different approaches, the two different viewpoints. The first, which is dangerous, will turn the state-operated economy into the tail of the "free" market, as a result of which prices will become disorderly and be allowed to float, which can only serve the saboteurs, profiteers and private merchants.

The second approach represents true control. However, there continues to be the problem of procurements at incentive prices. But incentive prices need not be based on free market prices, rather, they must be based on actual, rational production costs and provide for an appropriate profit in order to provide incentive for increased production and must also take into consideration supply-demand relations once the factors of sabotage and profiteering have been eliminated. Of importance is the need for the various sectors and levels to make every effort to control and make good use of the supply of goods made available for two-way trade and restrict procurements at incentive prices to the lowest possible level.

We must unify the management of prices. The approval and announcement of the various types of standardized prices for the entire country must be done within such agencies of the state as the Council of Ministers and the State Price Commission. Prices that are of a local nature must be examined and approved on the basis of a rational division of labor and management responsibilities and be flexibly guided within the stipulated scope of authority. To prevent negative consequences, we must not haphazardly change prices or make major changes in prices without giving thought to comprehensive and well coordinated economic, financial, administrative and educational measures.

The low productivity, quality and efficiency of social production plus the decline in revenues from the outside are also the underlying cause of the difficulties being encountered by our monetary and national financial system. However, as is the case with the issues discussed above, it is of basic importance that we work to restore wholesomeness and stability to the national financial system on the basis of utilizing the capabilities at our disposal to develop production, raise productivity, closely manage material consumption ceilings, increase the coefficient of equipment and machine use, combat waste and embezzlement and improve product quality. In this way, we can reduce production costs, raise economic returns, raise the income of manual workers and civil servants, increase the sources of revenue of the state budget, gradually accumulate capital from within the national economy, achieve a budget surplus and repay debts to foreign countries.

Finances are not merely a matter of revenues and expenditures, rather, it is of utmost, basic importance that we control the various production

capabilities, from labor and the instruments of production to business means, and utilize these capabilities as fully as possible in production in order to achieve high productivity, high quality and high returns. We must practice thorough frugality, in production as well as consumption, in administrative affairs as well as national defense activities. This frugality must be defined in the form of policies, measures, standards, quotas and plan norms. We must insure that frugality becomes the actions, become the revolutionary lifestyle of the millions of the masses.

An effort must be made to balance the budget in a positive manner in accordance with the principle of increasing our revenues, practicing frugality in expenditures and making effective use of expenditures; however, we should not go about this in a mechanical manner by restricting our investments in capital construction and reducing necessary expenditures in production.

We must adopt policies and measures that enable us to take determined, urgent steps to put the control of capital and money into the hands of the state and organize strict inventory and control of financial activities and cash. There must be full compliance with the policy on the unified management of finances, monetary activities, prices and wages. We must absolutely prohibit the establishment of illicit funds, funds outside the budget and unreasonable sources of revenue.

We must establish the financial independence of enterprises and create the conditions for them to display dynamism, initiative and creativity in production and business.

We must establish a division of budgetary responsibilities between the central and local levels, one that provides the central level with the necessary revenues and increases the revenues of the localities and gives them the right to control their budgets.

The problems regarding the standard of living and wages of manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces can basically only be resolved well by developing production, organizing labor in a rational manner and raising productivity, quality and efficiency.

In the immediate future, urgent steps must be taken to quickly stabilize the standard of living of manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces. At the same time, we must continue to research a comprehensive price-wage-finance-monetary-commerce plan in order to resolve this problem in a more rational and reliable manner.

Science-Technology and Cultural-Social Work

Science and technology are a very important factor that plays the key role in building and transforming the economy and stimulating the development of production.

Recent advances in science and technology have made significant contributions to the economic achievements that have been recorded.

In science and technology, we have large potentials and much human talent but they are not being properly developed or utilized. The various sectors and levels still do not consider science and technology to be direct production forces, to be essential elements in the development of their sector or locality and have yet to adopt programs for trying to rapidly introduce scientific achievements and technological advances in production and everyday life. The state has not adopted a policy that strongly encourages production and business installations to apply advances in science and technology. On the other hand, we also have not adopted a policy that provides appropriate remuneration to those persons who work in the fields of science and technology, to skilled manual laborers or to skilled management cadres.

The guideline for scientific and technical work in the years ahead is to competently support the efforts to raise productivity, quality and efficiency. In order to accomplish this, we must promptly adjust and amend the policies that apply to scientific and technical cadres and skilled manual workers and concern ourselves with everything from their standard of living to the tools they use in their work. We must attract scientists and technicians to production. Scientific and technical research facilities must be closely linked to production and business installations. Scientific and technical activities must be closely linked to the economy and daily life. We must encourage scientific and technical cadres to use their minds to support economic construction, cultural development and the strengthening of the national defense system. Science and technology must become part of the mass movement, become a force stimulating production.

Cultural and social work are a front of vital importance. However, over the past several years, because we have focused our attention on production, we have not attached appropriate importance to cultural and social work and have become lax on this front, as a result of which cultural and spiritual life has declined somewhat.

Following the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee, efforts were made to correct this shortcoming. In the socio-economic plans for the years ahead, attention must be given to making appropriate investments in cultural work and education and norms must be established that meet the minimum cultural needs of the people. The quality of education must be improved. Attention must be given to developing the movement to study culture in those areas in which persons are still uneducated.

In the field of cultural and social work, more than anywhere else, we must strengthen the leadership provided by the party, strongly utilize the forces of the people, implement the slogan "the state and the people working together" and successfully launch revolutionary movements of the masses to build the new culture, mold the new man, fight the acts of sabotage of the enemy and overcome negative phenomena.

Overseas Economic Relations

In the national economy plans for the years ahead as well as the plans for this entire initial stage, we must expand our overseas economic relations.

Rapidly increasing our exports and expanding our service activities in order to earn foreign currency are a matter of strategic significance, are an important element in helping to maintain the balances of the plan. We must rapidly increase our exports so that we can import more and more technology, supplies and raw materials to retool the national economy and, at the same time, create the conditions needed to export a larger quantity of higher quality goods and gradually establish balance between exports and imports. The main purpose of this effort is to accelerate socialist industrialization.

Our export capabilities are still large but, in the recent past, our efforts in this area have still been insufficient and we have not achieved high returns. We must look for every way to improve our overseas economic activities and our foreign trade activities, from policies to the organizing of the production of export goods and the business apparatus.

In view of our circumstances, mobilizing and encouraging each sector, trade, locality and installation to produce export goods and make every effort to practice frugality in consumption in order to increase the sources of exports are very important. However, we cannot operate on a small scale and merely rely upon whatever goods are collected for exportation, rather, we must organize the production of exports on a large scale and establish centralized, specialized farming areas devoted to important products of high economic value. In the immediate future, attention must be given to developing the strengths that we have in our agricultural and marine products, especially the various types of annual and perennial industrial crops and importance must also be attached to the production of livestock products for exportation. The industrial and handicraft sectors must also look for every way to increase their sources of export goods. We must make appropriate investments in exports and correctly determine which strengths of ours should be developed first and will yield rapid and steady returns.

On the basis of this guideline, we must reorganize the foreign trade business from the central to the provincial and municipal levels. The central level and the localities must work together in the production of exports. The State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Foreign Trade must work more closely with the sectors and localities to create large sources of export goods. We must uphold the state's exclusive rights in foreign trade and the central level's unified management of foreign trade and foreign exchange; at the same time, we must strongly tap the initiative and creativity of the localities in the expansion of export activities.

We must expand the export market. Foremost importance must be attached to our cooperation with CEMA, most importantly with the Soviet Union, with which our comprehensive cooperation must be considered fundamental and permanent. We must expand our cooperation with Laos and Kampuchea. At the same time, we must broaden our economic relations with the other countries and the international organizations and defeat the economic embargo of the imperialists and expansionists.

A correct relationship must be established between domestic and foreign prices. We must establish a rational price ratio based on efforts to reduce production costs and improve the quality of exports while opposing competition

in procurements and sales, which raises the prices of export goods and reduces the value of our currency.

The Economy and National Defense

Each yearly and long-term socio-economic program must fully reflect the four targets set by the 5th Congress of the Party. We must insure that security and national defense needs are met and comprehend all that is involved in the task of struggling against the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage.

We must correctly evaluate and fully recognize the schemes and acts of sabotage of the enemy, especially on the economic front. We must take effective measures to prevent and combat this sabotage. Plans must be adopted for providing security in production, providing security for enterprises, machinery, warehouses, supplies and raw materials. This is the immediate, vital task of all sectors and economic installations. The mass of manual workers and civil servants at each production and business installation must be mobilized to provide economic security. The armed forces and security forces must intensify their activities against the enemy's sabotage.

Our army has a significant force in its labor and material-technical bases. We must effectively utilize this force in the performance of the common socio-economic tasks of the country.

The troops stationed in every locality must coordinate with the locality in strongly expanding the army's participation in economic construction, especially in the northern border provinces. A number of places have emerged that are models of troops raising their own grain and food and participating in capital construction, the building of communications, water conservancy and hydroelectric power projects, the development of forest resources and so forth. These experiences must be reviewed and widely applied.

Good cooperation must be established between the army and the various economic sectors in order to make greater use of the capacity of state-operated industry in the production of economic goods and, at the same time, utilize the capabilities of civilian industry in the production of national defense goods.

The various party committee echelons and levels of government must concern themselves with the living conditions of the armed forces. The various sectors and levels must work with the Ministry of National Defense to resolve rear service and army rear area problems well.

As regards the mountain provinces, the army's participation in economic construction must be closely linked to the main guidelines for economic development in the mountains. The central level must make an effort to provide additional investment capital and adopt appropriate policies for expanding economic and cultural work in the mountain provinces, thereby enabling these provinces to promote intensive cultivation on land now under the cultivation of grain (rice, corn, potatoes and cassava), coordinate agriculture and forestry and focus their efforts on developing the strengths that lie in their forests, industrial crops and livestock production,

especially the species of large livestock, while using these sources of goods to trade with other localities and acquire additional grain and consumer goods through exports.

Dear comrades,

The work of building and defending the fatherland, in general, as well as the work of building and transforming the economy and culture, in particular, face us with numerous problems related to the destiny of the country, the survival of the nation.

As the highest leadership body of the party between congresses, our Central Committee has the task of finding correct solutions to these problems. And, at each plenum of the Party Central Committee, a number of problems have been presented to the collective for examination and decision. However, it is not easy to find an answer to every problem we face and there might even be differing opinions concerning some matters. This is not at all unusual. Because, economic management and social management are not simple tasks; moreover, these are new tasks to us, consequently, it is unavoidable that we are still groping about in search of solutions to some problems. Therefore, the correct attitude to take is that we must engage in serious debate and honestly listen to one another's opinions. When we lack facts concerning the subject under discussion and lack a solid foundation for resolving the problem at hand, we must conduct a pilot project, gain experience from practice and reach a consensus in our position and actions on this basis. Unity and consensus in thought and action are always the source of our party's strength. The Party Central Committee as well as the various party committee echelons must constantly work to strengthen the unity and consensus within the party.

The revolution is the undertaking of the masses. Collective ownership is the most powerful force there is for promoting transformation, construction, production and the practice of frugality, for restoring socialist order within distribution and circulation, for carrying out the scientific-technological revolution, establishing the new culture and molding the new man, for defending the fatherland and maintaining political security and social order and safety. The organizations of the party must make greater use of mass agitation and successfully mobilize the strength that lies in the collective ownership exercised by the people. The Trade Union, the Youth Union, the Women's Union and the Association of Farmers must be the organizations that directly organize the exercise of ownership by the masses, tap the boundless creativity of the masses and truly represent the right of ownership of the people in the various revolutionary action movements.

Cadres determine everything. The 4th Plenum of the Party Central Committee pointed out the need to build a well structured corps of cadres who have a thorough understanding of the lines of the party, are skilled in practical organizational work and possess discipline, good political qualities and revolutionary virtues.

Of importance is the need to determine how we can discover persons who truly possess economic management skills as well as scientific and technical skills and use their talents to bring prosperity to the fatherland, prosperity to

socialism. There are such persons within our corps of cadres. However, this is a matter concerning which our thinking is not as clear as it could be; at the same time, this is compounded by an incorrect way of viewing persons and the work they perform.

The results of work, socio-economic results, must be the standard by which we evaluate cadres. The selection and assignment of cadres must be made from the perspective of improving the socio-economic situation. By adhering to such a viewpoint, we will find cadres who truly possess talent. We must boldly place these cadres in management positions within the production and business apparatus, in key positions that determine productivity, quality and returns. On the other hand, we must fully comply with the resolution of the 4th Party Plenum on replacing those cadres who have committed serious shortcomings and cadres who have shown themselves to lack the qualifications and qualities needed to perform their tasks.

The recent days of serious work by the Central Committee permit us to formulate a good resolution, one that will correctly resolve the problems being faced.

This resolution will surely be warmly welcomed by our entire party, all our people and our entire army and become a part of life. We must perform very good political and ideological work, encourage the masses to display a high degree of self-reliance and launch an intense and strong emulation movement to successfully carry out the state plan for 1984, thereby building strong momentum for 1985 and continuously advancing the cause of building and defending the socialist fatherland.

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FATHERLAND CONSTRUCTION BONDS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 84 pp 21-24

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Our fatherland has issued bonds called "fatherland construction bonds." These bonds are a source of revenue of the state budget, one allocated to investments in the construction of key projects and the creation of the material-technical bases of socialism.

The issuance of bonds at this point in time is very necessary and completely consistent with our country's actual situation. Following years of war, our people, under the leadership of the party, urgently turned their hands to rebuilding the country and gradually advancing our fatherland toward socialism with a view toward firmly maintaining the independence of the nation and achieving a life of comfort and happiness. Through extraordinary efforts, our people have recorded significant achievements on the economic front: the material-technical bases that were destroyed during the war have now been virtually restored; the production capacity of the various economic sectors has been increased; many capital construction projects are nearing completion and will be put into production during the final years of the 1981-1985 plan.

To continue to bring about new changes in the economy and society, it is the policy of our party and state that we focus our efforts on accelerating the construction of projects now under construction, invest in and build a number of new projects and immediately prepare the conditions for accelerating socialist industrialization on a large scale after 1990. By implementing this policy, we will surely have much more grain, energy, fertilizer and technical supplies, many more consumer goods, export goods and so forth. As a result, the standard of living of our people will be raised. To build the material-technical bases mentioned above, we must invest tens of billions of dong at a time when our sources of accumulated capital are limited. This situation raises a pressing requirement, namely, that all sectors, levels, localities and units make every effort to raise their labor productivity, step up production, manage each existing source of capital well and practice thorough frugality; at the same time, they must effectively mobilize the various sources of capital among the people in order to increase the accumulation of

capital and lay the groundwork for accelerating the construction of the material-technical bases mentioned above.

A bond is an instrument through which the state borrows money from the people and repays it in full at a specific date. A bond differs from a contribution. A contribution is a form of support for which repayment is not made whereas a bond is a loan that is repaid in full. Taxes are a mandatory contribution while the purchase of bonds is voluntary.

Bonds are widely issued in many countries of the world. The Soviet Union has been issuing bonds continuously since 1922. The eastern European socialist countries have conducted many bond drives. The capitalist countries, such as Great Britain, France, the United States and so forth, also issue bonds. In essence, however, the bonds of the socialist countries differ from the bonds of the capitalist countries. The nature of a bond is closely linked to the nature of the state. The socialist state is a state of, by and for the people. Consequently, in the socialist countries, bonds represent funds borrowed by the state from the people to serve the interests of the people. Bonds represent capital which the people have saved and decided not to use now so that the state can rebuild the country. In the socialist countries, bonds reflect the close ties between the state and the people and are a concrete expression of the people's spirit of ownership. Both the state and the people are concerned with the common interests of the nation and both work to satisfy these interests, which include the interests of the family, of each person. However, in the capitalist countries, the state is the ruling apparatus of the bourgeoisie; therefore, a bond is a form of revenue used by the bourgeois state to procure weapons, manufacture weapons and promote the arms race or it is a loan used by capitalists as business capital to exploit the people at home or the people of other countries. In the capitalist countries, a bond is essentially a tax collected in advance, upon receipt of which the state assesses heavier taxes upon the working people in order to obtain the revenues needed to repay the bond. In the capitalist countries, bonds represent the interests of the ruling bourgeois class; the working people have no interests and, in addition, become the victims of the capital loaned by them to the bourgeois state.

The issuance of fatherland construction bonds is a major decision, a major policy of our state, one designed to widely encourage each stratum of the people at home and overseas Vietnamese, encourage all of our cadres, students and workers who are working or studying overseas to display their patriotism and voluntarily loan money and paddy to the state in order to provide the state with additional capital and enable it to build key projects and create the material-technical bases of socialism more quickly.

In order to create favorable conditions for each person to purchase bonds, the state has issued many different types and classes of coupons: coupons for which payment is received and recorded in cash, coupons for which payment is received and recorded in paddy and coupons for which payment is received and recorded in foreign currency. Our farmers who produce paddy can procure bonds in paddy. Residents of the cities and farmers in areas that raise vegetables, subsidiary food crops and fruit or industrial crop areas, mountainous areas that produce many forestry products, fishermen and so forth who do not have

available paddy can procure bonds in cash. Our overseas compatriots and the cadres, students and workers who are working and studying in foreign countries can purchase bonds in foreign currency.

There are five classes of bond coupons for which payment is made and recorded in paddy: 50 kilogram, 100 kilogram, 500 kilogram, 1,000 kilogram and 3,000 kilogram. There are six classes of bond coupons for which payment is made and recorded in cash: 100 dong, 500 dong, 1,000 dong, 5,000 dong, 10,000 dong and 50,000 dong. Bonds for which payment is made and recorded in foreign currency are not divided into classes, instead, the amount of the bond depends upon the amount of money spent by the purchaser. If the purchaser resides in a foreign country, the bond coupon is held at the Vietnam Foreign Trade Bank.

Bond coupons have been divided into many different classes to suit the income of each person: persons who have a high income can purchase a large bond; persons who have less income can purchase a smaller bond. Each person can widely participate in the purchase of bonds in a manner consistent with his or her income.

The money and paddy used to buy bonds are used by the state to support the construction of the fatherland and their original value is maintained by the state. The law on the issuance of fatherland construction bonds clearly states: the Council of Ministers is to formulate a list of a number of common industrial goods and their prices to serve as the basis for calculating the purchasing power of the dong at the time the bond is purchased as well as at the time it is redeemed.

When redeeming bond coupons procured in paddy, payment will be made in cash at the current paddy price.

When bond coupons purchased in cash as well as bond coupons purchased in paddy are redeemed, payment will be made in money or industrial goods as requested by the holder of the bond coupon.

When bond coupons purchased in convertible foreign currency are redeemed, payment will be made in the same foreign currency recorded on the coupon. If the bond holder desires to be paid in Vietnamese currency or industrial goods, the foreign currency will be converted to Vietnamese currency at the exchange rate in effect at the time of redemption and the value of goods will be calculated in Vietnamese currency.

In the case of a bond coupon that is purchased in non-convertible foreign currency, the foreign currency is converted to Vietnamese currency at the non-trade rate of exchange in effect at the date of purchase of the bond coupon and the coupon itself is considered to be a bond coupon purchased in Vietnamese currency. At redemption, payment is made in the same way as payment is made for bond coupons purchased in Vietnamese currency.

The name and address of the purchaser are recorded on the bond coupon. The state recognizes the purchaser's ownership of the bond coupon as private property of a citizen. When necessary, bond coupon ownership may be transferred. When a bond coupon is transferred as well as when a coupon is

lost, the owner of the bond must complete certain procedures. The purpose of this is to protect the bond holder's ownership of the bond.

In addition to the state guaranteeing the purchasing power of the money spent to buy bonds and recognizing the ownership of bonds by bond holders, bond purchasers also receive an annual interest of 2 percent of the money, paddy or foreign currency recorded on their bond coupon. The interests on bonds is not paid annually and is not compounded.

Ten years after the date of purchase, the state will repay both the principal and interest due. Principal and interest are paid once. At the redemption date, payment will be made for each bond coupon at the basic level bank or savings fund of the subward or village in which the bond holder resides, regardless of where the coupon was purchased. At redemption, the bond holder can take payment of both capital and interest in cash or in the form of a coupon for the purchase of goods. This coupon for the purchase of goods can be used to purchase products at the nearest state store and purchase the products requested by the bond holder.

In order for the nationwide bond drive to achieve good results, it must be very widely explained within each and every stratum of the people. We must give everyone a clear understanding of the nature of our state's bonds, a clear understanding of the importance of buying bonds and, on this basis, increase everyone's confidence in the bright future of the fatherland and encourage everyone to eagerly emulate in work and production, practice frugality in consumption, save money and paddy and make positive contributions to the cause of building and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

The various party committee echelons and levels of government, the mass organizations, all sectors and every other social organization has a responsibility in encouraging the people to buy bonds. The Political Bureau resolution on the issuance of bonds states: "The Party Secretariat and the Standing Committee of the Council of Ministers together with the various levels of the party and government must directly guide this drive.

The Vietnam Fatherland Front, the Confederation of Trade Unions, the Federation of Collective Farmers, the Women's Union, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the other mass organizations must consider it an important part of their mass agitation to encourage the purchase of bonds.

On each level, from the central level to the villages and subwards, it is necessary to establish Bond Purchase Mobilization Committees that have the Fatherland Front Committees as their nucleus and consist of comrades who have prestige, notable personalities and representatives of the various sectors and circles (the Fatherland Front, the mass organizations, the people's council, the people's committee, information, propaganda, press and other agencies). The Bond Purchase Mobilization Committee has the task of coordinating the activities of the various sectors in the propaganda effort regarding bonds and in encouraging the masses to buy bonds."

In addition, in order for the bond drive to achieve good results, a system of timely awards and penalties must be adopted. Persons who make outstanding

bond contributions and localities, organizations and individuals that record outstanding achievements in the issuance of bonds must be commended and rewarded by the state. Conversely, anyone who makes counterfeit bonds, distorts the bond policy or takes other action to sabotage the issuance of bonds absolutely must be harshly prosecuted under the law.

Our people have a tradition of patriotism. Since our party has been leading us, this tradition has been greatly enhanced and has today been fully developed into love of the fatherland, love of socialism, into an unshakeable will and steadfast determination in the cause of building socialism and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. Through this tradition, our party, army and people have surmounted every difficulty and challenge and won continuous victories in all periods of the revolution, thus bringing increasing prestige in the international arena to our fatherland and our nation. The party and state have a very high appraisal of the patriotic tradition and the love of socialism of our people and are firmly confident that each stratum of the Vietnamese at home as well as abroad will wholeheartedly respond to the issuance of fatherland construction bonds.

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THE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL AND CONSUMPTION IN THE PRESENT STAGE WITHIN OUR COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 84 pp 25-31, 44

[Article by Chu Tam Thuc]

[Text] The Basic Course for Resolving the Problem of the Accumulation of Capital and Consumption in the Initial Stage of Socialist Industrialization in Our Country

Our country is now in socialism's initial stage of the accumulation of capital. Between now and the end of the 1980's, we must endeavor to accumulate capital to support the task of industrialization, the specifics of which are focusing our efforts on developing agriculture, considering agriculture to be the front of foremost importance, advancing agriculture one step closer to large-scale socialist production, making every effort to increase the production of consumer goods and continuing to build a number of important industrial sectors while coordinating agriculture, the consumer goods industry and heavy industry within a rational industrial-agricultural structure.

Under the second 5-year plan (1976-1980), the amount of accumulated capital invested in capital construction, although actually less than the plan, was the equivalent of the total capital invested in the North during the preceding 20 years (1955-1975). Thus, even if we only maintained this rate of accumulation, the capital needs between now and the end of the 1980's would still be very large. This is an indication of the pressing, difficult and very acute nature of the accumulation of capital in the present stage. This is because we must resolve urgent problems regarding our standard of living while still meeting the large and pressing needs of our two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism while maintaining our readiness to firmly defend the socialist fatherland. At the same time, we are still at the level of small-scale production, the economy is still underdeveloped and unbalanced in many respects, national income does not meet the needs of social consumption, imports exceed exports and expenditures exceed revenues. In other words, the economy is not yet accumulating capital internally but the needs for accumulated capital are large.

In the face of the requirements being raised by the accumulation of capital and consumption, the basic course that we must follow to establish the correct relationship between capital accumulation and consumption in the present stage within our country is to tap the sense of collective ownership of the laboring people, tap their spirit of self-reliance, live on the basis of the results of our own labor, practice thorough economy, consume only as much as we produce and endeavor to accumulate capital from within the national economy and continuously accumulate more capital, especially within the state-operated economy.

We must reorganize production, develop the economy, closely coordinate transformation and construction, redistribute labor and create additional jobs so that we can make full use of the social labor force, constantly raise labor productivity and make every effort to practice frugality so that we can meet reasonable consumption demands and accumulate capital at the same time.

On the basis of the viewpoint of practicing self-reliance, we must make an effort to rapidly begin producing what we need to meet consumption needs on our own and must limit consumption to the scope of the wealth produced by our country, not allowing it to go beyond the limit permitted by production. At the very least, all capital acquired from foreign countries must, for the immediate future, be set aside as accumulated capital. We must look ahead and realize that under circumstances in which the economy is not yet producing enough to meet our food needs and construction and national defense needs are both large and pressing, the level of consumption will continue to be very limited regardless of how great an effort we make. The state is fully concerned with the standard of living; but, at the same time, everyone must learn to endure shortages, difficulties and tight supplies and practice frugality in production as well as in personal consumption and consumption as a society. Therefore, the pressing target regarding consumption is to stabilize the standard of living, beginning by providing a stable supply of grain and food and better meeting the minimum needs for clothing, education, health care, shelter, transportation and so forth. By reorganizing consumption in order to bring it in line with actual capabilities at this point in time with a view toward achieving this target, we can reduce the difficulties being faced and organize the life of the people in a more stable, fairer and rational manner more consistent with the work performed and the contributions made by each person. We must regulate income and eliminate the unreasonable differences in income that now exist among the various strata of the people and among the workers of the various sectors and trades and the workers at different installations. Determined steps must be taken to eliminate the extravagant, excessive living standards of the more than a few persons within our society who rely upon illegitimate, illegal sources of income.

When the economy has improved, when there is a surplus product and the standard of living is being gradually raised, we still must, in the spirit of giving priority to the accumulation of capital, insure that during the period of transition, the rate of consumption increases more slowly than the rate at which capital is accumulated or at least insure that the level of capital accumulation for industrialization does not decline with each passing year.

At this point in time, our initial accumulated capital is still based on the national income of foreign countries. We must soon reach the point where capital is being accumulated as a result of domestic production and represents an increasingly large percentage of the total capital accumulated each year compared to aid and loans. In the process of developing the economy in accordance with the socio-economic strategy adopted by the 5th Congress of the Party, every production installation, locality and sector in the state-operated economy as well as the collective economy must concern itself with resolving local problems regarding the standard of living while displaying a high degree of responsibility and fully concerning itself with accumulating capital for itself and for the entire country.

To tap the sense of collective ownership and the spirit of self-reliance of the people, the party and state have enacted policies and measures to improve management, cut red tape and broaden the production and business independence as well as the financial autonomy of the sectors, localities and installations. Through Council of Ministers' Decision 25/CP, the subsequent amendments and revisions to this decision and Secretariat Directive 100 on product contracts within agriculture, many places have brought about positive changes in the production movement, produced more products and raised the income of the laborer while increasing the accumulation of capital for the state.

In order to bring about strong and widespread change throughout the economy, we must continue to combat the thinking of relying upon the upper level and must stop and quickly rid ourselves of the disorganized approach, partialism, localism and other negative phenomena that have been and are having an adverse impact upon economic and social life, decentralizing the capabilities and potentials of the state and posing difficulties to the performance of our pressing tasks regarding the accumulation of capital and consumption.

The purpose of increasing the assignment of management responsibilities and creating independence in production and business and financial autonomy is to utilize the strengths and creativity of the sectors, localities and installations in the successful development of each potential and the acceleration of production in order to help resolve common difficulties. Therefore, independence and autonomy within the economy are only of positive significance when they insure the well balanced and unified development of the national economy and the centralized management provided by the state. Not correctly coordinating the "three interests," separating the interests of the part from the interests of the whole and even allowing the interests of the part to overpower common interests as is occurring at a good many places now are totally contrary to the management principles of the socialist economy. Partialism, localism, only concerning oneself with personal interests or the interest of the part as well as the thinking of waiting for and relying upon others are manifestations of a poor sense of ownership, a poor spirit of responsibility, weaken the capabilities of the state in its effort to meet vital and pressing requirements regarding the standard of living, regarding the construction and national defense activities of the entire country and impede our forward progress toward self-reliance. The matter facing all sectors and levels, facing each person is the need to make a determined effort to overcome the incorrect and negative tendencies mentioned above, direct

their energies toward the target of industrialization and contribute as much as possible to the task of accumulating capital for socialism. We must continuously heighten the people's sense of obligation to contribute to the state and implement the guideline "the state and the people working together." We must increase the responsibility of the localities, sectors and installations to the central level in the delivery of products and the delivery of payments to centralized financial funds. We must seek the aid of foreign countries but not rely upon them; instead, we must display self-reliance and know how to carefully examine economic returns and make good use of foreign sources of capital, considering them to be support that will help us rapidly improve our production capabilities and meet, on our own, the construction and everyday needs of the people well.

Frugality and efficiency, which are closely associated with the spirit of self-reliance, must be fully reflected in the accumulation of capital and consumption. Frugality is a major national policy that has been established for each field of material and non-material production, for everything concerning capital, supplies and labor and for each organization and person. Efficiency is the principle, is the measurement of economic activities. Our present production and business activities are inefficient; many places are still incurring losses and materials and capital are still being used in a haphazard, wasteful manner, are still being lost and damaged in rather serious amounts. Our potentials for increasing the efficiency of production and business and practicing frugality are still very large, especially within capital construction. If we overcome waste, reduce costs and increase the efficiency with which capital is utilized by even a small degree throughout the national economy, we will manage to create a rather large source of capital with which we can resolve many of the difficulties being encountered with the standard of living and the accumulation of capital under present conditions.

In conjunction with the problems regarding economic development, we must give special attention to the impact of the population when discussing accumulation and consumption. One of the causes of our difficulties is the very high rate of population growth (2.4 percent per year at a time when the gross social product only rose at an annual rate of 0.28 percent between 1976 and 1980). Planned population growth at a rate much lower than expanded reproduction, increases in labor productivity and increases in national income are of decisive importance with regard to our ability to increase the accumulation of capital and improve the standard of living of the people.

Establishing the Correct Relationship Between the Accumulation of Capital and Consumption Through the State Financial System

Within the socialist economy, the majority of national income is distributed through the state financial system, the center of which is the State Bank.

The financial system, the functions of which are distribution and the control of socio-economic activities, has the tasks of providing for the accumulation of capital for socialism and consumption through the budget, establishing the correct relationship between capital accumulation and consumption and competently supporting socialist industrialization and the improvement of the

people's standard of living. Through these functions and tasks, the financial system becomes an effective tool of the state in organizing, taking inventory of and controlling production, business and the distribution of the gross social product and national income. Consequently, the accumulation of capital and consumption through the state financial system occupy the most important position and are of the most decisive significance.

During the period of the 1976-1980 five year plan, a rather large amount of capital was incorporated within the state budget, five times more than during the period from 1961 to 1965 and more than our total budget revenues during the 10 years from 1966 to 1975. The state used 39.2 percent of this capital in funds that related to capital accumulation and 26.4 percent in funds that related to routine consumption--as much as 33.3 percent if we include compensatory price payments and compensation for losses (primarily in consumption), which equalled roughly the total amount invested in economic and cultural development and 86.2 percent of the total expenditures related to the accumulation of capital.

This distribution of capital met a very important portion of the pressing needs in construction, national defense and daily life in recent years.

However, there are still many shortcomings in the distribution of the social product and national income and in the formation and utilization of accumulation of capital funds and consumption funds through the state financial system.

As regards sources of capital, our revenues are still not enough to meet expenditure needs and build the necessary state financial reserves. During the period of the second 5-year plan (1976-1980), domestically produced national income constituted an average of 61.4 percent of total budget revenues and only provided for 94 percent of the expenditures related to consumption through the budget and the repayment of state debts. All expenditures related to the accumulation of capital and 6 percent of the expenditures on consumption made through the budget were based on sources of revenue outside the country. Despite these rather large revenues in aid and loans (38.6 percent of total revenues), we were still unable to balance the budget and the annual deficit increased until 1982 when we began to reduce it slightly. This situation has objective causes in the underdeveloped state and many imbalances of our economy, the serious damage caused to the economy during the 30 years of war and the serious natural disasters that occurred in recent years plus the wide-ranging sabotage being conducted by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. However, the important causes of this situation have been our shortcomings and mistakes in giving concrete form to the general line and the economic development line set forth by the party and in organizing and guiding the implementation of these lines. Of these shortcomings, our financial shortcomings and weaknesses have made the capital accumulation and consumption situation more difficult and complex. In view of the limited capabilities of the economy, the development and utilization of capital resources must be organized better. In actuality, however, we have not done this well or thoroughly: some sources of revenue have been ignored or given light attention, revenues within the state-operated economy have not been fully or

promptly mobilized and too few revenues are being mobilized among the collective, private and self-employed segments of the economy. During the period from 1961 to 1964, 28 to 30 percent of the national income produced domestically was mobilized as revenues. This figure fell to only about 21 percent under the 1976-1980 five year plan and only 19 percent in 1982. This is a very low percentage compared to the requirements of the period of socialist industrialization. In addition, there are still revenues that lie outside the scope of management and have not been put into the hands of the state for use in balancing budget revenues and expenditures.

As regards the distribution and use of capital, the percentage of capital allocated for accumulation is still low. At a time when domestic production is not producing a surplus product, we must, at the very minimum, make an effort to allocate all capital received from foreign countries for expanded reproduction but, instead of doing this, we have been using this capital for consumption as well.

Although the amount of capital accumulated has been small, the use of this capital has been poorly managed and inefficient, especially within capital construction. We have invested capital in a decentralized, evenly distributed manner lacking focus and coordination, lacking investigation, careful deliberation and full preparation. Our management of construction has not been good, consequently, investment costs have risen; construction costs are high, usually 15 to 30 percent higher than estimated; construction time is long, an average of 1.9 times longer than planned; and the volume of unfinished work on projects is very large, equalling anywhere from 85 to 194 percent of the volume of capital construction work completed. Due to shortcomings in the structure of investments, newly created production capacity cannot be fully or continuously utilized. Taken together, the coefficient of the fixed assets and new production capacity put into operation during the 5 years from 1976 to 1980 amounted to 51.1 percent of total investments, much less than during the period from 1960 to 1965 (70.4 percent). The returns from investments are small: 1 dong in fixed assets within the state-operated sector produced 0.245 dong in national income in 1976 and 0.197 dong in 1980; meanwhile, in a number of other countries, this figure is roughly 1 dong and even ranged between 0.6 and 0.7 dong in our country between 1961 and 1965. One dong of production capital (fixed and liquid assets) only produced 0.111 dong in net income in 1976; this figure rose to 0.13 dong in 1977 and 1978, gradually declined to 0.108 dong in 1979 and 0.095 dong in 1980 and stood at roughly 0.09 dong in 1981 and 1982.

At a time when the small amount of accumulated capital has slowly declined, the capital spent on consumption has been quite large and constantly increasing, by 37.9 percent between 1976 and 1980. Although it is personal consumption that has risen most quickly, our standard of living is worse. The rise in consumption and the decline in the standard of living are the result of many factors within production and distribution-circulation, such as wages, monetary activities, prices, the market, etc. Most deserving of attention within the area of finances and money are the budget deficit and the cash deficit, which have had a negative impact upon the general socio-economic situation and directly affected consumption, especially the standard of living of wage earners. On the other hand, the administrative bureaucracy and

subsidization within state financial management plus a burgeoning administrative staff have resulted in large, irrational expenditures, led to numerous phenomena, such as the practice of relying upon others, irresponsibility and the haphazard, wasteful use of capital, and, as a result, have not only reduced our ability to accumulate capital, but also diminished the impact of the very large funds allocated for consumption within the present structure of the budget. If we eliminated administrative bureaucracy and subsidization and streamlined our apparatus and staff, the state could, with the present funds set aside for consumption, resolve many of the difficulties being encountered in daily life, primarily in the daily lives of manual workers and civil servants of the state. In addition, it could have a positive impact upon production, stimulate higher productivity and efficiency and have a good impact upon the state's financial situation, upon the accumulation of capital through the budget, in particular.

In order to overcome the difficulties and limited capabilities of the national economy at this time and provide the conditions needed for the success of socialist industrialization during the initial stage of the period of transition, it is necessary to firmly control financial activities, strengthen the role and impact of these activities and properly carry out the task of accumulating capital and providing for consumption through the budget, which is the most important and decisive element in capital accumulation and consumption.

On the basis of accelerating the development of the economy, we must "put each source of capital in the hands of the state"(the resolution of the 5th Congress), considering the mobilization of financial revenues for the state to be the extremely important task of all sectors, levels and basic units. We must improve our organization and management, promptly collect all net income generated within the state economy, make a more vigorous effort to mobilize revenues within the collective, private and self-employed segments of the economy in a manner consistent with their abundant capabilities and give our attention to fully regulating the unreasonable and illegitimate sources of income of the private and self-employed segments of the economy. At the same time, we must concern ourselves with enhancing our sources of revenue, develop different ways of generating revenue and not ignore any sources of revenue, regardless of how small they might be, so that we can develop every capability that can be developed for the purpose of increasing our financial revenues, which include generating revenues through credit, through idle sources of money and through the savings of organizations and the people. In this way, we can significantly increase the flow of revenue to meet the demands of socialist industrialization and fully meet the urgent expenditure needs of the state.

We must continue to broaden and strengthen our international cooperation, most importantly with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and make full, good use of foreign sources of capital in augmenting domestic sources.

In conjunction with making a greater effort to generate revenues and increasing our domestic sources of revenue in coordination with seeking aid and loans from foreign countries, it is necessary to tightly manage and make rational, frugal and effective use of each source of capital controlled by the

state in the spirit of adjusting the levels of capital accumulation and consumption and keeping them within the scope of budget revenues. In the collection of revenue, primary emphasis must be placed upon increasing the flow of revenue, with importance attached to individual small sums. In our expenditures, we must calculate and carefully consider each expenditure made and save every possible dong. We must be determined to put an end to every attitude of doing as one sees fit in the use of state capital. We must eliminate all ostentatiousness and waste and put an end to expenditures on banquets, celebrations, gifts and presents that are not based on accepted principles. We must mete out harsh punishment for crimes involving embezzlement, misuse and vandalism of national property. Each sector and level must make an effort to balance their budget in a positive manner and quickly eliminate the deficit. We must not issue money to provide for budget expenditures; at the same time, an effort must be made to reduce and eventually eliminate the cash deficit and create the conditions needed to stabilize the monetary system and prices in order to support production and distribution-circulation well and maintain the value of accumulated capital and consumption funds.

In the use of capital, we must immediately restrict the funds made available for consumption through the budget to the scope of domestic revenues and stop the practice of living partially on the national income of foreign countries. Aid and loans from foreign countries must be used for production, for building the material-technical bases of socialism so that they provide us with additional strength in our effort to practice self-reliance and rapidly accumulate capital from within our own national economy.

The capital accumulation funds and consumption funds that are provided must be utilized in a manner based on principle, utilized in exact accordance with the general regulations of the state, not in accordance with arbitrary regulations and standards that are contrary to the financial discipline of the state. The distribution of capital to any place and for any purpose must be carefully calculated and evaluated and must be designed to achieve vital and pressing objectives, with economic returns being the highest measurement of this effort. Investments in capital construction must be focused on projects of critical importance, key sectors and the most important products in order to correct the decentralization, unevenness and lack of coordination in investments. We should not build new projects if existing production capacity is not being fully utilized. Importance must be attached to making investments in intensive development and encouraging the people to join efforts and work with the state. The allocation and use of capital within production must yield profits. In the use of financial capital, we must, under the slogan "producing more wealth and better products with the same amount or less capital," give priority to production and limit administrative and management expenditures. The pressing demand at this point in time is to significantly reduce administrative expenditures, practice full economy in national defense and security expenditures and reduce compensation for losses, especially the price compensation payments to consumers, to the lowest possible level because these expenditures and the consequences of subsidization and the burgeoning staff of the state apparatus have now reached the point where they can no longer be borne by the budget.

The above mentioned requirements regarding the mobilization and use of capital and capital accumulation and consumption through the budget raise problems that must be resolved in the areas of policies and regulations as well as financial management methods and measures.

To begin with, we must strictly enforce agricultural and industrial-commercial tax regulations in order to provide incentive for production, accelerate socialist construction and socialist transformation, generate more revenue for the budget and insure that each person and organization fulfills their obligation to make financial contributions to the state.

We must promptly re-evaluate and improve our allocation and expenditure policies, regulations and measures and change those regulations, standards and quotas that have become outmoded, that impede and hamper production while laying the base for the use of financial resources in an arbitrary manner not based on principles. We must be determined to revise or cancel regulations which provide for subsidies that have been and are nurturing the thinking of relying upon the state and nurturing irresponsibility toward state finances. Financial management policies, regulations and measures must be revised and improved in order to bring the use of financial capital within the production sector in line with cost accounting principles. Within the administrative sector and in consumption, our financial management policies, regulations and measures must provide for true frugality, the observance of strict and rational limits, quotas and standards and the thorough elimination of the administrative bureaucracy and subsidization that now exist and are having an increasingly negative impact upon all economic and social activities.

We must correctly implement the principle of democratic centralism regarding state finances. On the one hand, we must eliminate bureaucratic, restrictive management, establish a well coordinated division of management responsibilities, cut red tape and broaden the financial independence of installations, sectors and localities so that they can display initiative and creativity, develop each of their potentials well, step up production, improve their businesses, produce many products and accumulate capital both for themselves and the state. On the other hand, we must achieve a high degree of centralization by centralizing each source of revenue within the state budget in exact accordance with regulations. We absolutely must not permit revenues and expenditures outside the budget or the existence of illegal funds and must centralize the vast majority of revenues, especially the large and important sources of revenue, within the central budget. In view of the fact that our country is still poor and our financial capabilities are small, the strong centralization of capital within the central budget is very necessary in enabling the state to allocate capital to meet the most vital and pressing needs of construction, national defense and everyday life, needs of national significance. As regards revenues as well as expenditures, there must be uniform policies, regulations and standards established by the central level for the entire country in order to maintain financial discipline and uphold the socialist system of law.

The positive, effective participation by the state financial system in the formulation of national economic plans, in supporting, inspecting and

stimulating the implementation of plans and in maintaining balance between the material resources plan and the value plan as well as the close, smooth coordination among activities in the fields of finance, prices, labor and wages, commerce and market management are related, to a very important degree, to the implementation of the capital accumulation and consumption policy in the present stage of the revolution.

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SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION IN THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

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[Article by Truong Son]

[Text] The Political Report of the Central Committee at the 5th Congress of the Party defined socialist industrialization during the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country at this time as: "Focusing our efforts on strongly developing agriculture, considering agriculture to be the front of foremost importance, advancing agriculture one step closer to large-scale socialist production, making every effort to increase the production of consumer goods and continuing to build a number of important heavy industrial sectors while coordinating agriculture, the consumer goods industry and heavy industry within a rational industrial-agricultural structure."

In the recent past, in keeping with this line, agricultural production, especially grain production, has taken clear strides forward and the standard of living of farmers and laborers has, generally speaking, been stabilized and improved in some respects. Within industry, the granting of broader independence to socialist production and business and the implementation of various forms of piecework wages and contract wages together with the other policies designed to stimulate production have produced initial results. However, industrial production has increased slowly and is unstable; the level of production of state-operated industry and central industry was lower in 1983 than in 1978.

The difficulties and stagnation within the economy at this time are due to many causes, included among which has been our failure to gain a full understanding of the party's line on industrialization. For this reason, the resolution of the 4th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee once again stated: "It is a mistake not to consider agriculture to be the front of foremost importance at this time; however, it is also a mistake to give light attention to our central task throughout the period of transition to socialism, that is, to socialist industrialization, which entails coordinating agriculture with industry from the very outset and giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry."

Thus, what is the basic spirit of socialist industrialization in the initial stage of the period of transition in our country? This is the first question that must be answered:

1. Focusing our efforts on strongly developing agriculture: the economic line of the party states that agriculture is to be used as the base of our country's socialist industrialization. This is because agriculture provides the prerequisites needed for industrialization. Only a developed agriculture can provide a full supply of grain and food to society, create sources of raw materials for industry and produce agricultural products and commodities for exportation in order to earn foreign currency. Only a large-scale agriculture creates a large market for industry and brings about a new division of social labor.

In order for agriculture to fulfill its role as the base of industrialization, we must focus our efforts on developing agriculture. This means that we must use our investment capital, our instruments of production and consumer goods, our scientific and technical capabilities and our skills in leadership and guidance with a view toward highly mobilizing the forces of the entire country, of all sectors and levels to support agriculture. Focusing our efforts on agriculture means making direct investments in agriculture as well as investments in the other sectors, especially the industrial sectors that support agriculture. However, it does not mean that we must invest as much capital as possible in agriculture because we can thoroughly implement the guideline "the state and the people working together" within agriculture and can, with an appropriate management system and appropriate economic policies, develop upon and make full use of the advantages afforded by live labor to overcome the limitations imposed by materialized labor. The recent realities of the new contracts within agriculture prove this.

An agriculture capable of serving as the base of industrial development and meeting the daily needs of the people must be a large-scale agriculture. Therefore, agriculture cannot develop in any direction other than toward large-scale socialist production. Large-scale, socialist agriculture is, above everything else, a full-scale agriculture consisting of six main sectors and trades: grain production; industrial crop production; livestock production; afforestation; pisciculture; and the small industry and handicraft trades. The standards of a full-scale agriculture are: the amount of area under the cultivation of industrial crops must equal 20 to 30 percent of agricultural land; the output of livestock products must account for 40 to 50 percent of agricultural output; and virtually all agricultural cooperatives must be agro-industrial cooperatives at which agriculture and the handicraft trades are developing simultaneously. A full-scale agriculture consists of 10 groups of plants (grain, beans, vegetables-fruit, sugar bearing plants, oil bearing plants, fiber bearing plants, medicinal plants, livestock feed crops, trees producing lumber and firewood and special product plants), 6 groups of animals (buffalo-cattle, hogs, poultry, marine products, bees and special products) and 6 small industry and handicraft sectors and trades (the processing of agricultural, forestry and marine products, the repair and production of implements, the production of building materials and capital construction, consumer goods production, the production of export goods and transportation). A large-scale agriculture is also one that practices

specialized farming and intensive cultivation, records high yields and produces a large output of commodities. Of course, a large-scale agriculture is also one that is supported by water conservancy projects, the application of chemicals, mechanization and the widespread use of electricity.

2. Accelerating consumer goods production: accelerating the production of consumer goods is a very important task in meeting the material and cultural needs of society and producing many more goods in order to expand the domestic market and increase our exports, thereby stimulating the development of agriculture and laying the groundwork for the development of heavy industry. To our country, the development of the consumer goods industry is not only necessary, but it also something that we are quite capable of doing because we have a diverse tropical agriculture, abundant labor and certain material-technical bases.

We must develop the production of consumer goods in a universal manner, from central industry to local industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, from large-scale production to medium and small-scale production, from modern technology to rudimentary technology. We must widely implement the guideline "the state and the people, the central level and the locality, the family and society, the state-operated, collective and private segments of the economy working together in the production of consumer goods." The consumer goods industry must be developed in a comprehensive manner encompassing all sectors and trades, such as the processing of grain, subsidiary food crops, marine products and the various forms of protein and carbohydrates; the production of sugar, cakes and candies; the production of wine, beer and the various types of beverages; the production of tea, coffee, tobacco, canned goods, exported food products, textiles, leather and ready-made clothing; the production of paper, lumber and matches; the production of pottery, ceramics, glass and metal consumer goods; the development of the printing industry, the cultural products industry, the pharmaceutical and drug industry, the packaging industry and so forth. Most importantly, the consumer goods industry must make an effort to meet the common needs of the people that we are fully capable of meeting through domestic production, such as their needs for salt, rush mats, pottery, ceramicware, glass, wooden furniture, woven products and so forth. At the same time, it must create the conditions needed to develop the production of a number of important products serving domestic consumers and export needs, such as cloth, paper, sugar, medicine, bicycles, wine, tea, tobacco, coffee, rubber and so forth.

Improving the quality of consumer goods is just as important as increasing the output of consumer goods. Therefore, importance must be attached to both output and quality in production. We must endeavor to achieve both the output and the level of quality permitted by actual capabilities. Moreover, we must not tolerate sloppy, careless work which only wastes raw materials and creates permanent bad habits in production and management.

At present, the development of consumer goods production primarily involves reorganizing production and making investments in depth in order to make full use of existing installations. The construction of new installations must be carefully evaluated from the standpoint of the availability of raw materials

and should only be carried out when the capacity of existing installations, both state-operated and collective, is being fully utilized.

Raw materials are a matter of survival in production. The basic approach in resolving this problem is to adopt specific policies and measures designed to gradually create sources of raw materials in agriculture, forestry, marine products, minerals, industry and imports. On the other hand, we must fully collect and make very economical and efficient use of available raw materials; for example, we must collect the wood in tree branches and tops and small pieces of wood in forestry operations, collect the timber cut down in land clearing operations, collect the timber cut down in thinning operations for afforestation and so forth in order to produce wooden furniture. We must collect buffalo hides, cattle hides and pig skins for the processing of leather goods. We must collect and make full use of each discarded material and rejected product in production, circulation and consumption in order to recycle them into necessary goods.

3. Giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry: this primarily means that the heavy industrial sectors must be developed at a more rapid rate but in a manner closely linked to agriculture and light industry and that supporting agriculture and light industry be our foremost task in order to develop these two sectors in a strong and steady manner and meet the needs of daily life and export requirements while laying the foundations needed to give priority to the development of heavy industry. Giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry also means gradually building and developing a relatively complete heavy industrial structure consistent with natural resources and the requirements of our country's economy. This structure consists of the three main groups of tools, energy and raw materials and the six basic sectors of mechanical engineering, metallurgy, building materials, chemicals, electric power and fuel. One very basic requirement in giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry is to develop the heavy industrial sectors at different rates and to different degrees depending upon the specific conditions that exist during each period of time instead of developing all the heavy industrial sectors in one "broad stroke."

In the immediate future, in view of our country's present circumstances, priority must be given to the development of energy production, which includes electric power, coal, petroleum, natural gas and the other forms of energy. Special importance must be attached to developing large, medium and small-scale hydroelectric power projects and balancing transmission networks with the sources of electric power. We must make greater use of the capacity of existing power plants and efficiently utilize oil-fired sources of power. The amount of electricity being consumed in an unauthorized manner and the amount of electricity being wasted and lost must be sharply reduced. Urgent steps must be taken to complete the construction and insure the successful operation of the Pha Lai Power Plant. We must maintain the rate of construction of the Hoa Binh Hydroelectric Power Plant. Positive preparations must be made for building the Tri An Hydroelectric Power Plant.

We must accelerate the mining of coal, including at the small coal mines and peat bogs within the various localities, and make full use of low energy coal. We must be determined to make well coordinated investments in order to quickly

balance the production line of the coal sector, especially in the area of transportation, with a view toward eliminating the backlog of coal. Efforts must be made to provide a full supply of grain and food products to mining workers and improve their working conditions in order to raise both their enthusiasm for their work and their labor productivity.

We must plan and reorganize the machine sector along the lines of specialization and cooperation. Investments in intensive development must be made to increase production capacity in coordination with building a number of new, truly necessary installations. The machine sector must attach importance to both the manufacture and repair of machinery and make an effort to produce spare parts and repair machinery and equipment for the other sectors. We must quickly provide a full supply of high quality common and improved tools that meet specifications and are well suited to the social labor force.

The raw material and building material sectors must be developed at a rapid rate and existing steel refining and rolling capacity must be utilized well in order to increase steel output. Preparations must be made for the construction of new steel mills. We must expand the production of tin, lead and zinc by mechanized, semi-mechanized and manual methods. The production of phosphate fertilizer, nitrogen fertilizer and the different types of agricultural pharmaceutical products in order to support agriculture. We must develop and utilize the various types of domestic raw materials and organize the medium and small-scale production of the various types of chemicals that we need to replace imported chemicals. The production of building materials must be widely developed, from central industry to local industry, from common materials to high grade materials. The production capacity of the large cement plants must be utilized well. We must expand the network producing lime, bricks and tiles in order to support agriculture and construction and must create the conditions needed to upgrade stone production to large-scale, mechanized production.

To develop heavy industry, it is necessary to reorganize the production of existing installations and continue to selectively build a number of new and necessary installations while accelerating our preparations for stronger and broader development of the heavy industrial sectors under subsequent plans.

In order for socialist industrialization in the initial stage of the period of transition to achieve good results, we must, in addition to gaining a thorough understanding of all that is involved in industrialization, successfully take the following several basic measures:

1. We must build the infrastructure for production. The infrastructure is the base of production, is the important prerequisite to expanded reproduction. It has been the experience of many countries that production develops smoothly at those places which fully concern themselves with and make appropriate investments in the building of the infrastructure. In the space of the next 10 to 15 years, on the basis of our country's specific circumstances, the building of the infrastructure should focus on the following main areas of importance:

Appropriate investments must be made in developing the transportation sector and the information-communications sector in order to bring them into balance with production, daily life and national defense needs.

Priority must be given to developing the production of energy, especially hydroelectric power, so that energy production truly develops in advance of the other sectors. We must establish balance between transmission networks and power sources.

Positive steps must be taken to protect the forests and promote the planting of trees and afforestation in order to quickly cover barren hills with vegetation and increase the amount of land covered by forests in each region of the country, thus insuring that the forests fulfill their two functions of providing protection and supplying products.

We must gradually build and improve fields, widely implement the guideline of coordinating agriculture and forestry and adopt regulations that provide for the rational development and use of land through intensive cultivation in order to stabilize and eventually raise soil fertility.

We must carry out educational reform with a view toward training, on an appropriate scale, a new force of laborers, technical workers and scientific-technical cadres whose qualities and skills are consistent with the requirements of the division of labor within socialist production.

Plans must be adopted for exploring for, developing and making rational use of water sources to provide water for production and everyday life. In the municipalities, cities, towns, industrial complexes and new economic zones, the supply of water and water drainage must be well organized.

We must continue to develop our public health services along the lines of coordinating disease prevention with medical treatment, Eastern medicine with Western medicine in order to safeguard and improve the health of the people.

2. We must expand our economic activities overseas. Overseas economic activities are a true potential, are an extremely important base of socialist industrialization. The principles and guidelines that govern overseas economic activities are:

Giving priority to broadening and strengthening our comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and developing our cooperation with the other socialist countries within CEMA by establishing economic ties with these countries;

Broadening and strengthening our cooperation and mutual assistance with Laos and Kampuchea for the purpose of developing the strengths and overcoming the difficulties of each country while helping one another meet the pressing needs that exist in production and everyday life and advancing together toward socialism;

Appropriately expanding our economic relations with the countries outside the socialist system, especially the non-aligned countries.

In our overseas economic activities, we must uphold the principles of voluntary association and mutual benefit.

The overseas economic relations of our country consist of many diverse forms of relations, such as foreign trade, cooperation in scientific and technical research, the coordination of economic plans, cooperation in production and business, international credit, assistance from specialists, labor cooperation, etc. Among these, the matter of strategic significance to our entire party and all our people is the need to make every effort to increase our exports so that we can import goods.

Our country's socialist industrialization faces very large and pressing problems, problems which demand that we utilize every capability that we have in order to increase our exports. To accomplish this, we must create every possible condition for exports and employ many different forms and modes of export activities, such as producing exports or importing raw materials to produce exports, developing local exports (tourism, services and so forth), expanding our foreign trade transportation in order to earn foreign currency and so forth.

To increase our exports, we must create sources of raw materials for export goods, make well coordinated investments in technical equipment and technological improvements at installations producing export goods, improve our price policies, establish specialized organizations in charge of the complete production and marketing of important export goods and so forth.

It is necessary to quickly train a corps of cadres for overseas economic and business activities, cadres who possess good qualities and virtues and are skilled in their business.

3. We must improve the economic management system. To suit the present state of our economy, we must establish a dynamic management system that is capable of abolishing bureaucratic centralism, conservatism, stagnation and sweeping subsidization and correctly implementing the principle of democratic centralism. The guidelines for improving our management system are to broaden the independence of the installations, localities and sectors in order to develop each potential of the country while insuring that the central level controls those factors and elements that must be under centralized, unified management in order to guide the national economy within the orb of socialism. This new management system has the plan at its center and coordinates planning with cost accounting and socialist business procedures. It strongly encourages the initiative and talent of workers, demands a high degree of discipline and responsibility and eliminates negative phenomena.

The guidelines for the improvement of the economic management system demand the correct application of economic laws and economic policies and adherence to the principle of coordinating material incentives with appropriate ideological education, closely linking needs to interests and coordinating the three economic interests in a well balanced manner.

Economic returns must be used as the standard for planning, deciding upon, scrutinizing and evaluating the results of each economic activity, from the

very smallest to the largest. Economic returns are evaluated from many different perspectives, all of which revolve around two main requirements: meeting the needs of society and earning a profit. To meet these requirements, we must attach importance to both use value and value and meet the needs of society in the best possible manner while earning enough income to not only cover each production and business cost, but also accumulate some capital for one's unit and for society.

Of critical importance in improving our economic management is the need to increase the independence of economic installations in their production and business operations. The purpose of increasing the independence and the degree of responsibility of economic installations in their production and business operations is to guarantee and uphold the right of economic collective ownership. The new management system, therefore, must enable production and business installations to take swift, flexible action in order to formulate and implement the highest and most effective state plans possible.

To increase the independence that installations have in their production and business operations, we must strengthen installations in a manner closely linked to reorganizing production; at the same time, we must improve the entire management system and revamp the organization of the management apparatus with a view toward removing obstacles that stand in the way of installations and supporting installations well.

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TEACHING REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION TO THE YOUNG GENERATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 84 pp 38-44

[Article by Vu Mao]

[Text] As a unique form of social relations, tradition has an impact upon each process of social development, upon the heritage handed down from one generation to the next, upon the formation of the character and aptitudes of youths.

The history of our nation over the past half-century and more has been the history of a nation that has arose and carried out a revolution under the leadership of the party, a revolution that has been characterized by one generation after another waging a selfless fight for independence, freedom and socialism.

Throughout the course of this very arduous revolution, the unyielding, tenacious spirit and the unparalleled qualities and virtues of one generation have set bright examples for and strongly inspired the next generation. Each subsequent generation has carried on these traditions and created new ones of its own to strongly inspire the generation behind it.

However, the impact of tradition does not occur in a spontaneous manner but through conscious activities; therefore, it is always one of the noble tasks of the communist party to cultivate within the young generation the correct attitude toward the fine traditions of the past, the attitude of carrying on the work of the older generations in a worthy manner. This task assumes even more pressing importance at a time when the class struggle is a bitter, worldwide struggle and the imperialists, reactionaries and hostile powers are resorting to every brazen and malicious, clever and sophisticated method they can in a vain attempt to blur and distort the beautiful image that today's youths have of the revolutionary generations that preceded them and in a vain attempt to separate today's young generation from their fathers and older brothers by means of an invisible wall that they have erected to force our youths to stray from the path of the revolution.

Our party always considers the teaching of revolutionary tradition to be an important part of teaching communism to the young generation. The resolution

of the 5th Party Congress pointed out the need to "attach full importance to the teaching of national tradition and revolutionary tradition, the teaching of genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism to youths." The Party Secretariat directive on intensifying the teaching of revolutionary tradition to the young generation also states: "The heroic undertaking of the party and nation has become a precious tradition of the Vietnamese, one that must be preserved and enhanced from one generation to the next and become an increasingly powerful material strength in the new stage of building and defending the socialist fatherland. Youths, the shock force of the revolution, must be well prepared and well educated. Teaching tradition is an important part of the teaching of politics and ideology to youths."

Teaching revolutionary tradition to the young generation means providing them with a clear and deep understanding of the spiritual and ethical values and the noble lifestyle of our party, our army, the Youth Union and our people that have been cultivated and forged over the past several decades. These values are the direct products of tens of millions of Vietnamese working and fighting under the glorious banner of the party and Uncle Ho in the new age. At the same time, they represent the continuation and enhancement of the noble traditions forged by our nation in its history of building and defending the country.

The directive of the Party Secretariat very clearly defines the specific elements of revolutionary tradition that must be widely taught to the young generation. It is very important that we learn what these elements are in order to establish the objectives that must be met.

To begin with, we must teach the young generation that an heroic, brave and unyielding character, a readiness to sacrifice everything for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and the refusal to suffer the loss of the country and be enslaved are an extremely precious tradition of our nation. This tradition, which was formed and developed through the long history of resistance against the northern feudal aggressors, reached a pinnacle in the national liberation revolution led by our party.

If our country's young generation, beginning from the time they are children, understands the impressive feats of arms against foreign aggressors and the brilliant examples of giving one's life for the great cause of our national heroes and our party, they will surely develop deep pride in their fatherland, their people and be more clearly aware of their responsibility toward the present and the future. And, if we show them how these glorious chapters in our history are being continued and developed upon by today's youths under the new conditions that exist now, their understanding of our tradition of patriotism and our tradition of defending the country will be strengthened even more and lead to positive revolutionary actions.

Therefore, teaching the tradition of patriotism to youths, molding within youths an heroic, brave and unyielding character and imbuing them with the spirit of being ready to fight and die to protect our independence, freedom and socialism, being ready to meet and surmount every challenge are the most important elements in the teaching of revolutionary tradition. We are fully capable of doing this well because our nation's history, as many foreign

historians have observed, is a history of great breadth and depth. The tradition of fighting to defend the country, which runs like a red thread throughout our nation's history, is an objective reality, is a tradition of extremely strong vitality. Of itself, this tradition has the power to persuade tens of millions of youths and teenagers and is capable of awakening the sense of responsibility toward defending the socialist fatherland and loyalty to the revolution on the part of the strata of persons who are just beginning their lives. As a result, this tradition is capable of bringing our country's young generation together in actions based on the leadership guidelines of the party.

Steadfastness in the face of each challenge, difficulty and adversity and constant loyalty to the cause of the revolution are also a fine tradition of our people. It is our responsibility to give the young generation a deep understanding of this tradition, give them pride in this tradition.

In the process of building and defending the country, our people have always had to deal with challenges, difficulties and adversities: natural disasters and a continual fight against foreign aggressors.

It can be said that many successive difficulties and challenges have occurred in the history of our nation. One need not examine ancient history to see this. It has been very evident during the past half century that we have been under the leadership of the party. Immediately following the victory of the August Revolution, we had to contend with domestic and foreign enemies, with famine and fear. And, this situation was followed by the resistance against French colonialism, the resistance against U.S. imperialism and the fight against Chinese expansionism and hegemony. Today, we must bear the serious consequences of these wars and contend with a wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the enemy. Difficulties have piled upon difficulties, one challenge has led to another. Despite this, we have continued to firmly stand our ground and the revolution has continued to move forward.

Of course, in the process of the revolution's advance, some persons have inevitably stumbled and fallen behind, have wavered and fallen by the wayside. However, the vast majority of us remain steadfast in our purpose, think and act correctly, endure difficulties and try to make progress in a manner worthy of the country and the nation.

By giving today's young generation a correct and thorough understanding of this fine tradition, we provide them with a very profound spiritual asset. With this asset, youths will surely steadily overcome each difficulty and challenge and record remarkable feats of arms in socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland.

Diligence, patience and creativity in work are a special characteristic of our nation. This characteristic has also become a fine tradition. We have the responsibility of teaching this tradition to today's young generation so that they consciously carry on and enhance this tradition in order to cultivate within them the spirit, the character of taking the lead in all fields of production and work, in organizing daily life and so forth.

In contrast to previous young generations, today's generation of youths is better educated and able to quickly learn the achievements of advanced science and technology. Youths are present in virtually every sector of society. If we teach each youth within each of these fields how diligently, patiently and creatively our forefathers and the generations of the past several decades worked to insure that we were "well fed so that we could win victory in battle" and to build the country that we have today, how bravely and creatively collectives of youths are working today at places where they face towering difficulties, they will surely become more aware of their responsibility in helping to successfully implement the socio-economic programs initiated by the party and surely acquire additional spiritual strength with which to excellently fulfill their role as the shock force of the revolution in socialist construction.

In the teaching of revolutionary tradition to the young generation, we must also teach them to live a simple style of life, to love and help one another. This is another characteristic tradition of our nation. Since antiquity, the laboring people of our country have cherished the fruits of their labors and always lived a pure, simple and frugal style of life, a lifestyle of being "poor but honest." They abhor extravagance, impracticality, rudeness, imitating others and living by swindling, tricking and deceiving others. Most characteristic of our people is their fine tradition of inter-personal relationships. These are relations of equality, democracy, love for one another, mutual assistance and caring for one another. Today, in the new system and under the leadership of our party, this tradition has developed into the principle: "one for all, all for one."

We have the responsibility of teaching this tradition to today's young generation so that they consciously apply it in an appropriate manner within their style of life, so that they realize that if we adhere to the correct revolutionary philosophy of life, we can, even in the face of a situation such as our present situation fraught with difficulty, still try to cultivate a beautiful lifestyle, a civilized lifestyle complete with all that it implies. Of course, our party and state are making every effort to provide a better material life and a rich spiritual life for our country through the various socio-economic programs that have been established.

Finally, we must teach to youths the pure and loyal international spirit. This is a noble quality that our party has worked hard to cultivate during the past half century and more of fighting, one that has become a part of revolutionary tradition. The purpose of teaching this tradition is to help the young generation overcome feelings of inferiority as well as bigoted nationalism; help them to heighten their spirit of international solidarity; and help them to closely unite and cooperate with the Soviet Union and the other countries within the socialist community, with the special alliance among Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and, when necessary, be ready to fulfill their international obligation as required by the party.

In order for the revolutionary traditions described above to become deeply ingrained in the thinking and feelings of the young generation, become a powerful material strength, it is necessary to conduct well organized, artistic, practical and constant educational activities. We have been

conducting such activities and achieved good results through them. Generally speaking, however, this educational effort is still simplistic in nature and has not been put on a regular basis. Most installations only conduct a few familiar forms of activity, such as "lectures on tradition" and the "lighting of tradition torches," and have yet to initiate activities that are integrated, diverse and profound.

As is the case in many other areas of education, the teaching of revolutionary tradition to the young generation demands that we make artistic use of audio-visual techniques, such as having youths attend lectures, listen to stories being read and traditional songs being sung, attend symposiums on tradition, attend plays, view films, view statues, visit museums, visit historic ruins and so forth. That which one hears and sees firsthand is always highly instructive and persuasive; it directly "attacks" the intuitive feelings of youths and leaves profound impressions. Today, in contrast to the past several decades, audio-visual techniques are being widely and artistically utilized in the mass media. If we fail to make use of these techniques, if we fail to bring "art" to the teaching of tradition in a manner consistent with the psychology of youths and teenagers and if we continue to simply rely upon "onesided lectures and explanations," the returns from our educational effort will be very greatly limited.

To improve the teaching of tradition and put it on a regular basis, we absolutely must establish society-wide coordination. Beginning with the family and kindergarten classes and through songs and stories sung and told by mothers and child care attendants, we must cultivate within children their first beautiful impressions of their birthplace, their school and class and teach them to respect the material and spiritual products that the adults in society have produced and given to them. On the general school level, their knowledge of national and revolutionary traditions must be broadened and enhanced through the study of history and through tradition oriented social activities organized by the school or by the Teenagers' Unit and Youth Union. Therefore, the teaching of history and the organizing of extracurricular activities designed to teach revolutionary tradition to students must be promoted and improved, not only within the general schools, but the colleges as well.

Supporting the schools by teaching tradition outside the school through activities of the literary and art agencies and the mass media is extremely important. Party Secretariat Directive 14 on intensifying the teaching of revolutionary tradition to the young generation states: "The propaganda, information, press, cultural and educational agencies and related sectors must adopt programs for teaching revolutionary tradition to youths." Today's youths are very anxious to read or write about the youth of Uncle Ho, about the party, about young revolutionary militants who lived beautiful, pure and noble lives and gave their lives to the country, to the people. Youths thirst for new, absorbing and highly artistic articles on tradition. They thirst for films and plays that present a broad historical perspective, are of profound ideological content and are new in structure and presentation. Youths also want very much to see sculptures and paintings that deal with tradition, to see beautiful paintings and statues that reflect the lives of heroes of past generations of youths or today's young generation. In fact, despite what some

people believe, tradition is not viewed by youths as merely something old from the past; to the contrary, they are eager to learn more about tradition and show great interest in tradition as it is presented through the various forms of art. If the various literary and art agencies and the mass media consider this area to be an important part of their work programs, their efforts will surely be welcomed by the youths of the entire country.

The building of material bases supporting the teaching of revolutionary tradition, such as the system of museums, sites of historic ruins, war dead cemeteries, monuments and so forth, from the central level to the localities and installations also plays a very important role. Villages, subwards, precincts, districts, factories, state farms and so forth should, as permitted by circumstances, adopt plans for building museums or monuments and should first give their attention to writing the history of their unit.

We are encountering difficulties with the economy, finances and supplies; however, under the guideline "the state and the people working together, the central and local levels working together, the locality and the installation working together," we can bring together the forces of all society to repair existing material bases and build the new ones that are needed, thus meeting the requirements we face in teaching tradition to the young generation.

In past years, under the leadership of the various party committee echelons and on the basis of the conditions created by state agencies, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union on the various levels has taken many suitable, effective measures to teach revolutionary tradition and national tradition to the young generation.

In order for this work to reach a new level of development in keeping with Party Secretariat Directive 14 on intensifying the teaching of revolutionary tradition to the young generation, the Secretariat of the Youth Union Central Committee decided to organize the "march in the footsteps of heroes," which began in May, 1983 and will conclude in 1985, a year of many major anniversaries. This is a way to teach revolutionary tradition through concrete, profound, interesting and practical activities designed to give the youths of the entire country a deep knowledge of the glorious history of the fight waged by the party and our heroic people; cultivate pride on the part of youths in the revolutionary generations that preceded them and gratitude toward those generations; and help youths recognize their sacred historic mission in the new stage of the revolution, carry on, in a loyal and outstanding manner, the glorious revolutionary undertaking of the party and nation and take the lead in building and defending the socialist fatherland. Also through the concrete activities being conducted in the "march," Youth Union members and youths are being encouraged to carry out the work programs of the Youth Union, thus making positive contributions to the successful implementation of the resolution of the 5th Party Congress; being encouraged to improve the methods employed in youth work, build a strong and solid Youth Union organization and youth federation and so forth.

In the 5 months that it has been underway, the "march in the footsteps of heroes" has yielded rather good results. Youths have responded to few campaigns as quickly as they have responded to this one. Beginning in Hanoi,

the "march" rapidly spread to the provinces of central Vietnam, to Ho Chi Minh City and all the way to the extreme southern provinces of the fatherland, such as Kien Giang and Minh Hai.

The "march in the footsteps of heroes" launched by the Youth Union has been enthusiastically welcomed by the various levels of the party. A number of provincial and municipal party committees have issued directives to strengthen the leadership of this campaign and have adopted plans for guiding the participation in it by party members. Many elderly revolutionaries, veteran party members and demobilized or retired army soldiers and officers in all regions of the country have expressed their joy over this campaign. Many of them have eagerly participated in tradition oriented activities with youths. It can be said that the "march in the footsteps of heroes" is winning the hearts of people because all generations see within it their own years and months of glory. Because it is closely linked to social activities, it is profoundly practical in nature and helps to correct the rather widespread malady of formalism that exists in educational work. And, as a result of taking many different measures, such as organizing visits and tours, camping and organizing tradition associations, in a flexible manner instead of waiting until all the necessary conditions and material means have been made available, many places have gained the participation of large numbers of youths and teenagers and tapped their initiative in the development and use of available material bases within the locality with a view toward supporting and gradually putting the teaching of tradition on a regular basis.

However, at some places, especially in key areas, this campaign has yet to be launched. More than a few basic organizations of the Youth Union are still confused about how this campaign should be guided. The Youth Union Secretariat has adopted a plan to correct these shortcomings by providing for more positive and better coordinated guidance with the agencies of the Youth Union, seeking the leadership of the party committee echelons and the coordination of the government and cultural, educational, propaganda and press agencies and so forth. Through this campaign, the young people of the entire country will surely gain a deeper understanding of the traditional revolutionary values of the generations that preceded them and will, under the new conditions that exist now, surely write new and worthy pages of history of their own generation.

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QUANG TRUNG'S STYLE OF FIGHTING

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 84 pp 45-52

[Article by Hoang Minh Thao on the 195th anniversary of the defeat of the Qing Army by Quang Trung]

[Text] Some 200,000 combat troops and hundreds of thousands of transport and support troops of the House of Qing, under the command of Xun Taiyi, chief of the two Guang Provinces [Guangdong and Guangxi], were poised to invade our country. The most important strategic question facing Nguyen Hue was how to quickly and completely annihilate the forces of the enemy.

What was the domestic situation in the face of this threat of foreign aggression? Domestically, the Nguyen Anh tragedy was a worry to Nguyen Hue. Having seen the cowardice and weakness of Nguyen Nhac and Nguyen Lu and looking to the future, Nguyen Hue viewed the "Nguyen Anh tragedy" as a potential disease which, if not eradicated, would at some point in time break out and threaten his life. The foreign situation was extremely complicated. If the war dragged on, the Qing could receive additional reinforcements and prolong the war even more. Hiding behind the Qing spears, Le Chieu Thong could gradually build significant puppet forces to assist Xun Taiyi. In actuality, when the Qing Army occupied Thang Long, the "Royal" Army of Le Chieu Thong had grown to about 20,000 men.

At the same time, in Phu Xuan, the Tay Son Army commanded by Quang Trung only numbered about 60,000 men. Quang Trung had planned to recruit additional troops on his way north to Bac Ha but realized even before he left that when he attacked Thang Long he would only have about 100,000 troops, or less than half of the enemy's troops.

Moreover, the Qing Dynasty under the reign of Qian Long was a period of prosperity. After occupying Thang Long, Xun Taiyi was praised by the emperor of the House of Qing as a "great man of unparalleled talent," as a person "who bore the burden on his own, provided methodic guidance and, as a result, achieved success in less than 1 month, success truly worthy of my trust in him" (Dai Thanh lich trieu thuc luc 1318, pp 21 and 241). Qian Long awarded Xun Taiyi the Medal of Gallantry First Class. Thus, in addition to

a large army and a talented general, they also had Vietnamese traitors who knew our country's terrain and situation.

Our forces were not the equal of theirs, consequently, in order to win victory, we had to create a posture that "would greatly increase our real strength while weakening and greatly reducing the real strength of the enemy." This posture was the posture of surprise. Quang Trung planned to use the element of surprise while still at Phu Xuan and it became the key factor used by this "peasant" hero to defeat the Qing Army.

A military genius who knew us and the enemy well, Quang Trung foresaw and seized upon the conditions needed to achieve this element of surprise. Quang Trung very heartily endorsed the opinion of La Son's mentor Nguyen Thiep: "Now that they are alone in our country and their morale has been shattered, the Qing Army that came here from so far away does not know whether our forces are weak or strong, whether they should take the offensive or defend their positions. If the master himself goes into battle, the Qing will fall in less than 10 days." For this reason, when they reached Tam Diep, Quang Trung said to his generals in Bac Ha: "When we go into battle this time, I shall personally command our troops and our plan of attack has already been prepared. We can drive off the Qing in less than 10 days."

Quang Trung's plan for attacking the Qing Army was based on one factor of foremost importance: surprise.

Surprise did not come about on its own, it had to be created. Here, primary credit must be given to Ngo Van So and Ngo Thi Nham. These Tay Son generals, brave generals who had joined Nguyen Hue at the very start of the uprising, who had fought 100 battles and won 100 victories, did not know how to retreat, only how to advance. Although they only had 7,000 to 8,000 men under their command, Nguyen Van So and Phan Van Lan, men who possessed an abundance of bravery and resourcefulness, were determined to do battle with the 200,000 man Qing Army because, as Nguyen Van So said: "Now that the enemy is here, we must live or die with the enemy, must survive or perish along with the city," especially in view of the fact that the city was Thang Long. Yet, as told by Ngo Thi Nham, Ngo Van So ordered his forces to withdraw to Tam Diep and defend it. As Quang Trung observed at Tam Diep: "Those who know how to refrain in order to avoid the enemy's blows and who, in this way, build the morale of their own troops and give the enemy a false sense of confidence are very correct in what they do"(Hoang Le nhat thong chi). What was the morale of the enemy? Arrogance was an inherent malady among many generals of the "Celestial Court." Plainly, it was not the least bit difficult for the chief of the two Quang Provinces to lead the troops of the two provinces across the border to "settle" the affairs of a "barbarian" people's "Giao Chi Province"! Xun Taiyi's arrogance fed upon itself and reached the point where he became complacent, where he had little regard for the opposition, especially when he easily occupied Thang Long without encountering any significant resistance. Xun Taiyi's "victory" also occurred shortly before the New Year Tet. In addition, the Tay Son Army had gradually withdrawn from Lang Son to Thang Long. All of these factors caused Xun Taiyi to decide to allow his forces to rest and celebrate Tet and prepare additional forces in order to continue the attack after Tet, on approximately the 6th. In actuality, the Qing Army

and its lackeys forget about everything else they were supposed to do and only celebrated Tet. According to custom, Tet began on the day of farewell to the kitchen god, that is, on the 23rd of the last month of the old Lunar Year, and lasted until the 7th day of the first month of the new Lunar Year. The Le Chieu Thong lackeys declared a holiday (beginning on the 25th day of the old Lunar Year) and "gave the Mandarins and troops 10 days off so that they could celebrate the arrival of spring together"(Hoang Le nhat thong chi).

Ngo Thi Nham's plan to allow the Qing Army to "spend the night" in Thang Long helped to create a strategic situation that encouraged Xun Taiyi to keep his troops at Thang Long. Complacent and underestimating their opponent, Xun Taiyi and the entire Qing aggressor army immersed themselves in a drunken celebration of Tet. This was the screen that concealed the advance by Quang Trung's troops from Phu Xuan to Tam Diep, was the drug that paralyzed the entire battle position as well as the spirit of vigilance and combat readiness of the Qing Army within the Thang Long area.

While Xun Taiyi and the Qing generals complacently viewed the Tay Son Army as "in prison awaiting trial, as at the point of death"(Hoang Le nhat thong chi), Quang, while leading his forces northward to Nghe An and Thanh Hoa, dispatched a messenger to "take a letter to Taiyi requesting his surrender in the most polite of terms"(Viet su thinh giam cuong muc). Becoming even more arrogant and contemptuous, Xun Taiyi ordered "Quang Trung to withdraw his forces to Thuan Hoa and wait there for the settlement of the matter between us"(Le-Quy ky su).

When the Tay Son Army assembled at Tam Diep, Xun Taiyi and the Qing Army were still absorbed in revelry. Against the background of the situation in Bac Ha at that time, the 1 month that the Qing Army "spent the night" at Thang Long was a time when they did as they pleased and revealed their cruel and aggressive nature; at the same time, it was a month during which the complacency of Xun Taiyi and his lackeys and their underestimation of their opposition grew and reached extremes. It was also a month that revealed the extremely vile and traitorous nature of the Le Chieu Thong lackeys and showed to the people of Bac Ha the just nature of the Tay Son partisan army's fight against the enemy for national salvation. These factors brought the people of Bac Ha, the people of the entire country to the side of the "peasant hero," to the side of the Tay Son partisan army. The new political and ideological circumstances within Bac Ha, namely, the fact that Xun Taiyi and the Le Chieu Thong lackeys were "alone within the country--their morale shattered," meant that the country was awash with hatred of the aggressors and Vietnamese traitors and that the people were united and unanimous in their desire to fight the enemy and save the country. Quang Trung "had placed Xun Taiyi and Le Chieu Thong into a situation in which they had eyes but could not see, had ears but could not hear." The Tay Son ground forces blocked the way to Tam Diep. The Tay Son naval forces blocked the water routes into the North and the South. The people of Bac Ha prevented enemy spies from slipping through our defense lines and collected intelligence information within the enemy rear area and forwarded it to the headquarters of the Tay Son partisan army. We closely guarded our secrets and kept abreast of the daily enemy situation. Xun Taiyi knew nothing at all about the strategy of Quang Trung and was completely taken by surprise and caught unprepared by Quang Trung's skilled

method of fighting. As Nguyen Trai said: "With good timing and position, we survive rather than perish and small forces become large forces; without good timing and position, strengths become weaknesses, a secure situation becomes a dangerous one and this is a change that can occur in an instant"(Quang trung tu menh tap).

One must act quickly in order to not miss an opportunity. Moving with utmost speed was a necessity to Quang Trung: marching to the staging area with utmost speed, preparing for battle with utmost speed and attacking the forces of the enemy with utmost speed. This was a strongpoint of Quang Trung and the Tay Son partisan army. As a palace maid said to the mother of Le Chieu Thong, the Tay Son partisan army, which possessed high morale and a tight organization, "appeared like a spirit, now in the South, then in the North in a way that no one could predict"(Quang Le nhat thong chi). This was also something that the Xun Taiyi clique could not have anticipated.

On 21 December 1788, in Phu Xuan, Nguyen Hue received an urgent message from Ngo Van So. On the very next day, Nguyen Hue became emperor, took the name Quang Trung and immediately took command of the army and began leading it to the North. This action alone was sufficient to prove the very high combat readiness of the units of the Tay Son partisan army, the decisiveness and spirit of urgency of the "peasant hero" and, in particular, the breadth of vision and strategic planning of Quang Trung in using time to his advantage and achieving the element of surprise.

Making use of every minute and hour of the march, a more than 10 day stop in Nghe An provided sufficient time to rest the troops, supplement the army's forces and conduct a parade to inspire and build martial spirit. After picking up additional troops in Thanh Hoa, Quang Trung and the Tay Son Army marched to Tam Diep, arriving there on 15 January 1789. Thus, in the space of only 24 days from the date they left Phu Xuan, Quang Trung and the Tay Son Army completed all the work involved in preparing their forces and preparing the morale of their officers and men. Hardly one moment, one hour was wasted. Not counting the time that the army stopped in Nghe An and Thanh Hoa, the march of the Tay Son Army, a march which began with more than 60,000 troops in Phu Xuan and numbered 100,000 troops from Thanh Hoa northward, only took about 11 or 12 days. This was truly something that far exceeded the strategic calculation of the enemy general, Xun Taiyi.

Although his "plan for battle" had been established from the time that his forces were still in Phu Xuan, Quang Trung still had to resolve numerous specific problems, such as learning about the deployment of enemy forces along the route from Tam Diep to Thang Long, especially within the Thang Long area; selecting the main directions from which to attack and the key targets to be attacked in order to concentrate his forces on them; training the partisan army in specific ways to attack specific places; preparing the material needed to support battles; and building the determination of the three elements of his forces to fight to the end to drive off the foreign aggressors. Quang Trung not only marched his army northward with utmost speed, he also completed his preparations for battle with utmost speed and did so during the last days of Tet. In the space of only 10 days, from 15 to 25 January 1789 (that is, the 30th day of Tet), the Tay Son Army completed all its preparations and was

ready for the decisive, historic battle. Before they left for battle, Quang Trung held a banquet for his troops at which he stated: "Today, let us celebrate the New Yet Tet early. On the 7th day of spring, we will be in Thang Long and hold a large banquet there. Remember what I say and see if I am right."

This stern declaration, which amounted to the order to attack with utmost speed, was the most decisive of the three different uses of utmost speed, utmost speed in the march, in the preparations for battle and in the attack, and completed the relationship between surprise and speed, between surprise and opportunity against the background "opportunity, opportunity, it should never be missed"(Quang trung tu menh tap). The 3rd and 4th days of the new Lunar Year were days during which the enemy's forces were both physically and emotionally exhausted followed dozens of days of preparing for Tet and celebrating Tet. This provided a good opportunity for a surprise attack to deeply penetrate enemy lines and deliver a decisive blow against the very stronghold of the Qing Army, including the command post of Xun Taiyi at the Tay Long Palace.

On the basis of launching such a lightning-like attack, a method of fighting had to be devised that would achieve the strategic objective of rapidly annihilating the entire enemy force in order to conclude the war within the space of a few days. Because our forces were small and were fighting an enemy whose forces were more than twice as large, Quang Trung selected a method of fighting that employed the strengths of the Tay Son partisan army: maintaining secrecy and surprise, rapidly advancing his forces from many different directions and by many different methods in order to encircle and trap the Qing Army and concentrating his forces on the main front while deploying other forces in several other directions in order to establish a position of overwhelming superiority from which to launch strong attacks against a number of key positions within the defense system of the Qing Army in the Thang Long area, destroy the enemy's battle position and put the Qing forces in a state of chaos and panic so that they could not retaliate against us in time and would ultimately be totally destroyed.

Quang Trung deployed the Tay Son Army in five forces that attacked the Thang Long area together: the main force, which was personally commanded by Quang Trung, directly attacked the main defense system of the enemy in southern Thang Long; the second force, which was commanded by Admiral Bao, attacked Dai Ang (Thuong Tinh, Ha Son Binh Province) and performed the mission of supporting and coordinating with the main force; the third force, which was commanded by Admiral Dang Tien Dong, launched a surprise attack that annihilated the forces of the Qing Army stationed at Khuong Thuong and then penetrated enemy lines to Thang Long. This force, which established a campaign encirclement of the enemy, attacked the right flank of the enemy's battle line which, although lightly defended, was of strategic importance. The fourth force, which was commanded by Admiral Tuyet, crossed the sea and attacked Hai Duong. The fifth force, which was commanded by Admiral Loc, was the strategic encirclement force that crossed the sea and attacked Bac Giang in order to block the withdrawal route of the Qing Army from Thang Long to Guangxi while being ready to block troop reinforcements being sent from Guangxi.

The offensive battle position of Quang Trung placed the Qing Army into the position of "being imprisoned and awaiting trial," into a position from which there was no escape. Once this battle position had been established, Quang Trung selected the burial sites of the forces within the defense system of Xun Taiyi: Ha Hoi, Ngoc Hoi and Khuong Thuong. By concentrating their forces on attacking these sites, the Tay Son Army, although its total troop strength did not equal one-half of the enemy's total troop strength, was able to achieve overwhelming superiority in forces at the decisive battle sites that had been selected. The Tay Son Army also received assistance and combat support from the people in the localities where fighting occurred.

When the attack was launched and in accordance with the combat plan of Quang Trung, a clearly defined encirclement of the enemy emerged around the entire area of Thang Long. The major routes of withdrawal of the enemy had been blocked. On the main front, the main force personally commanded by Quang Trung launched a frontal assault while the force attacking the flank, which was commanded by Dang Tien Dong, came down from the mountains and struck like a dagger against the flank of the enemy in southwestern Thang Long, penetrating all the way to their heart, the Tay Long Palace on the bank of the Red River. There was smooth coordination among the attacking forces, both on land and sea. The encirclement of the enemy's entire battle position had a profound impact upon the morale of the Qing command and all Qing officers and soldiers once their defense system had been smashed and penetrated at a number of vital places. Possessing an aggressor army's characteristic of being prone toward wavering and faltering in the face of difficulties, especially when faced with the threat of being surrounded, their first psychological reaction was to flee for their lives. This encirclement of battle positions throughout the entire theater of the war made Xun Taiyi "a man who did not have the time to put on his armor or mount his horse"; he fled in panic from Tay Long Palace and, together with a number of attendants, crossed the pontoon bridge to the other side of the Red River and then ordered that the bridge be cut, thus causing tens of thousands of Qing troops to drown. This total encirclement also had the following result: of the 200,000 combat troops and hundreds of thousands of corvee laborers, only about 5,000 troops and Xun Taiyi managed to flee to China.

Within this encirclement to annihilate the entire Qing Army, Quang Trung encircled and destroyed each "key" position of the enemy.

During the middle of the night of the 30th, the main force troops of Quang Trung crossed the Gian River, launched surprise attacks that destroyed the forward positions of the enemy on the northern bank of the Nguyet Quyet River and the Nhat Tao River, pursued the Qing forces and captured them at Phu Xuyen, "not allowing one to escape" (Hoang Le nhat thong chi). As a result, during the night of the 3rd day of the Ky Dau Tet (28 January 1789), the Tay Son Army encircled the Ha Hoi garrison in Thuong Tin, Ha Son Binh Province, only 20 kilometers from Thang Long without being detected by the enemy forces within the garrison.

The victory of Ha Hoi made possible the attack on the Ngoc Hoi garrison, which was the key battle that decided the fate of the army of Xun Taiyi.

When they learned that the Tay Son Army had advanced to Ngoc Hoi, Xun Taiyi and all of the Qing officers and soldiers in the Thang Long area were struck with fear and panic. They told themselves: "Their generals are coming down from the sky, their troops up from the ground"(Hoang Le nhat thong chi). When he learned the news, Xun Taiyi "drew his sword and slammed it into the ground, saying: how could they move so fast?"(Minh do su). The morale of the Qing Army reached its lowest point just as the Tay Son main force army commanded by Quang Trung appeared in front of the Ngoc Hoi garrison, the key base within the defense system of the Qing on the southern Thang Long front. This was the main shield protecting the Qing Army in Thang Long. By cutting this link, we would break the entire chain of garrisons.

Quang Trung decided to use the main force troops under his personal command plus the support forces commanded by Admiral Bao, a total of 60,000 to 70,000 men, to attack the roughly 30,000 Qing forces at Ngoc Hoi.

The Tay Son Army had the superiority of forces; in addition, its assault forces had 100 combat elephants, bows, crossbows, spears and lances. The Tay Son elephant troops were also equipped with many firearms, such as pistols, rifles and, most importantly, cannons on their elephants.

Quang Trung decided to use a large infantry force, including a contingent of elephant troops, in a strong attack from the south against the Ngoc Hoi garrison while deploying main forces to the northeast of Ngoc Hoi to block both the Nhi Highway and river dike in order to force the enemy to flee toward the west in the direction of the Muc swamp. Admiral Bao's force was moved from Dai Ang and used to support the main force in the attack on the Ngoc Hoi garrison; however, its main task was to encircle and destroy the forces of the enemy when they reached the Muc swamp.

While launching a strong frontal attack, a way was opened for enemy forces to escape in order to push them into a deadly trap that had been prepared in advance at the Muc swamp. This skillful method of fighting of Quang Trung resulted in the complete destruction of the forces of Qing Admiral Xu Shiheng within the Ngoc Hoi garrison and at the Muc swamp. Concerning the strong attack carried out by the Tay Son Army, even the enemy had to admit: "The assault troops of the enemy--that is, the troops of the Tay Son Army--charged straight into our headquarters"(An-nam quan doanh ky yeu); "behind the protection of large bundles of rice straw, they charged in...when someone fell, the person behind him took his place, every one of them displaying a readiness to risk their lives in combat"(Viet su thong giam cuong muc).

Also during the night of the 4th day of the first month of the Lunar Year Ky Dau, as the main force attacked the Ngoc Hoi garrison, on the supporting front, the force commanded by Admiral Dang Tien Dong established a campaign level encirclement of the enemy and launched a strong surprise attack against the Khuong Thuong garrison in Dong Da. The enemy forces there were caught unprepared because they never suspected that the Tay Son Army would launch a sudden attack from the mountains. The Khuong Thuong garrison was destroyed in only a few hours of fighting. Charging forth in the midst of victory, the Tay Son Army went on to destroy the Yen Quyet and Nam Dong garrisons and then swept toward the southwestern gate of Thang Long City like a spear being

thrown directly at the Tay Long Palace, where Xun Taiyi had established his headquarters. Their attention having been drawn to Ngoc Hoi, Xun Taiyi and the Qing generals panicked when they saw Tay Son troops approaching from the southwest and had no choice but to flee for their lives.

In the battles of Ngoc Hoi and Khuong Thuong (Dong Da), the factors of surprise, lightning-like speed, encirclement of the enemy and strong attacks were closely coordinated, thus greatly increasing the strength of the Tay Son Army and enabling it to quickly crush the Qing Army, even though it was many times larger than our army. The Tay Son Army seized opportunity, achieved surprise and acted with lightning-like speed in order to seize the initiative and make full use of its opportunities. It used the element of surprise to encircle the enemy and this encirclement of the enemy heightened the effectiveness and impact of the element of surprise. It employed the factors of surprise, encirclement of the enemy and lightning-like speed to lay the groundwork for strong attacks to destroy a number of key bases within the enemy's defense system.

This actually amounted to using fingers of steel to point the way to the enemy's grave, crush their battlefield deployment and push them into a situation in which they were routed and destroyed within the encirclement of them by our army. This was the remarkable style of fighting of Quang Trung. Surprise and lightning-like speed created the opportunity to encircle, strongly attack and destroy the Ha Hoi, Ngoc Hoi and Khuong Thuong garrisons. The correct and precise use of this opportunity created a new opportunity. This new opportunity was seized by Admiral Dang Tien Dong when "he advanced by himself on horseback and suppressed the forces at the forbidden palace," when he advanced into Tay Long Palace, the headquarters of Xun Taiyi.

At dawn on the morning of the 5th day of the Ky Dau Tet, the force commanded by Admiral Dang Tien Dong moved into Thang Long; at noon, the main force commanded by Quang Trung and the force commanded by Admiral Bao arrived in the capital.

The unique characteristics of the military thinking of Quang Trung were the thinking of taking the offensive, taking and seizing the initiative in strategy, campaigns and combat, achieving surprise through resourcefulness and using lightning-like operations and encirclement and isolation of the enemy coordinated with frontal assaults to breach enemy lines in order to annihilate the enemy, in order to systematically and completely annihilate an enemy force larger than ours. The Qing Army became very complacent following the numerous victories that led to its occupation of the capital Thang Long. Xun Taiyi thought that he retained the initiative. However, while still at Phu Xuan, through his thinking of taking the initiative, through decisiveness based on comprehensive, precise calculations, the "peasant hero" seized the strategic initiative when he decided to "immediately go into battle."

When we are in a position in which we must "use few forces to fight many," the problem we face is that we must create a position, create an opportunity for changing the comparison of forces between the two sides, must use position and opportunity to greatly increase our strength and greatly reduce the strength of the enemy. As the fighting unfolded, Xun Taiyi was taken by surprise by

Quang Trung's strategy, was taken by surprise in terms of campaign art and was even taken by surprise in the various battles that were fought, from the battles of Ha Hoi, Ngoc Hoi and Khuong Thuong to the encirclement and penetration of Tay Long Palace.

Quang Trung's style of fighting was remarkably strong because its foundation was solid. To begin with, Quang Trung brandished the banner of the just cause of fighting foreign aggressors and protecting the independence of the fatherland. He satisfactorily resolved a number of feelings of hostility within the Tay Son movement. He won the hearts of the people of the entire country, especially the people of Bac Ha within the area occupied by the enemy.

To protect the sacred soil of the fatherland, Quang Trung made full use of the fatherland's treacherous terrain, from the Tam Diep chain of mountains and the Muc swamp to the mountain road that led down to Khuong Thuong. Under his command were talented, brave and well disciplined generals of the Tay Son partisan army who were ready to die for their country. Quang Trung also brilliantly coordinated the elements of surprise and encirclement of the enemy with the proselyting of enemy troops. In summary, Quang Trung employed "the strengths of the entire country" to defeat the Qing Army. His style of fighting was a combination of many factors, the most significant ones being surprise, lightning-like speed, encirclement of the enemy and strong attacks. Quang Trung's battle at Thang Long was a campaign of strategic proportions, was a battle of decisive strategic significance, was the battle that determined the victory of the war. The military thinking and art employed in that battle reflected a new stage of development in medieval Vietnamese military art.

The method of fighting employed in the periods preceding Quang Trung, namely, that of "attacking forts," was not highly developed. Through Quang Trung, this method of warfare reached a higher level of development in terms of both the organization and conduct of campaigns. The battle at Thang Long was a large campaign of strategic proportions. The campaign battlefield deployment consisted of very closely linked battle positions; at the same time, it involved attacks from many different directions and by many different contingents of the five forces, attacks against the entire structure of the enemy's defensive formation.

The campaign was commanded and directed in a very talented manner. Within the broad scope of the several provinces of Bac Ha, the five forces of the Tay Son Army launched their operations together and closely coordinated on widely separated fronts. This proves that they had achieved the high level of development of organization, operation and command of a major campaign. The Thang Long campaign brings to mind a form of modern day campaign. In this regard--that is, from the perspective of campaign command--the battle of Thang Long also represented a new and higher stage of development, represented the enhancement of medieval Vietnamese military art.

Quang Trung and the officers of the Tay Son partisan army made priceless contributions to Vietnamese military art.

The battle of Thang Long, which resulted in the defeat of the Qing Army, marked the outstanding continuation and enhancement of the tradition of the battles of Chi Lang, Bach Dang and Nhu Nguyet. And, the victory at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the great victory of the spring of 1975 in the Ho Chi Minh campaign and the victory over the Chinese aggressor army in February, 1979 marked the flawless continuation and enhancement of the tradition of these victories of bygone times.

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THE BREADTH AND DEPTH OF A STRATEGIC DEFEAT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 84 pp 53-57

[Article by Thanh Tin on the 5th anniversary of the victory over the war of aggression waged by the Pol Pot genocidal clique and the Beijing expansionists on the southwestern border (January, 1979-January, 1984)]

[Text] Exactly 5 years ago, our army and people totally defeated the war of aggression waged by the Pol Pot genocidal clique along the entire southwestern border. This criminal war, which began in 1975, became fierce in 1977 and, by early 1979, was causing heavy loss of human life and property in the provinces of Kien Giang, An Giang, Long An, Tay Ninh, Song Be, Buon Ma Thuot and Gia Lai-Kontum. At the same time, with the assistance of our troops, the Khmer army and people, having arisen under the banner of the great cause of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation, toppled the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique, the lackeys of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, saved their country from genocide and ushered in a new era, the era of true independence and freedom and the advance to socialism.

During the past 5 years, looking back over the historic change that was brought about in early 1979, we have become increasingly aware of the magnitude of that great victory and increasingly aware of the breadth and depth of the strategic defeat of the genocidal clique and their masters.

The Thundering Blow of 5 Years Ago

To the expansionists in the Celestial Palace, the collapse of the Pol Pot clique came as quite a surprise. They had thought that by massacring more than 3 million Kampucheans and tracking down and killing each and every patriotic force, they could closely control the surviving Khmer citizens and eradicate all domestic opposition. They also subjectively thought that the army and people of Vietnam, having been intimidated by them on the northern border, having encountered difficulties with their economy and standard of living following several decades of war and facing the need to resolve numerous political, economic and social problems in the southern provinces, no longer had the strength to fulfill their international obligation and join the patriots of Kampuchea in toppling the Pol Pot genocidal clique, the lackeys whom they worked so hard to prop up and support in every way possible.

Contrary to their thinking, the offensive staged by revolutionary troops on the Kampuchean battlefield, like bamboo being split, quickly came to a conclusion, resulting in a complete victory throughout the country in the space of slightly more than 2 months.

Fascists and those who practice genocide are always aggressive and cruel but because they have such a small social base among the people, they are truly weak and very quickly collapse in the face of a strong and brave offensive by revolutionary troops and uprisings by the people. The expansionists were convinced that their position was an extremely solid one and that they would surely win victory because they had sent to Kampuchea thousands of military "advisors" and a few thousand road construction troops, had poured tens of thousands of tons of weapons and military equipment, aircraft, warships, 130 millimeter long-range artillery, tanks, anti-aircraft artillery and so forth into Kampuchea and had personally formulated the plans and supervised the more than 20 divisions of the Pol Pot army in combat.

As they became more self-assured and boasted that they would attack and occupy the provincial capital and all of Tay Ninh Province and then advance on Saigon and strike deep into An Giang, Kien Giang, Tra Vinh and so forth, their defeats became increasingly heavy and bitter defeats. They suddenly found themselves facing a brutal reality. Their more than 20 divisions had been smashed to pieces and completely routed in the space of only 2 weeks. Thousands of Chinese military personnel barely escaped to Thailand with their lives, leaving their lackeys to collapse and fall into disarray.

The powerful, bold and unexpected strategic blow delivered by revolutionary troops at the end of 1978 and the start of 1979 will forever be recorded in history as a lightning-like offensive that reflected the remarkable talent and creativity in military science and military art of the revolutionary troops of the two countries of Vietnam and Kampuchea. It was truly a thundering blow to the genocidal clique and their masters who rule within the Celestial Palace. They were so self-assured, so arrogant and blind as to not even know the word doubt!

Why They Are So Bitter

The Chinese expansionists have remained bitter throughout the 5 years since their shameful and disgraceful defeat in Kampuchea. They continue to do everything they can to breathe life back into the remnants of the genocidal clique. Although they share not 1 meter of border with Kampuchea and are thousands of kilometers from Kampuchea, they still consider the Kampuchean issue to be one of special importance to them, to be an issue of foremost priority, to be the prerequisite to the improvement of relations with other countries. Why are they so unusually and deeply bitter?

First, politically speaking, the Maoism being hawked by Beijing throughout the world had clearly not won any clients. Their policy of expansionism, first by means of consciousness, by means of ideology and political line, had clearly been a failure. It was at this time that the Pol Pot band emerged and openly praised and extolled Maoism: "We consider Maoism to be priceless to us!" The more rare something is, the more priceless it becomes. As Beijing's support

became more valuable, Beijing's joy inevitably turned to pain when the Pol Pot clique collapsed in a heap.

Secondly, the brand of "socialism" established by Pol Pot in Kampuchea was very well suited to the tastes of Beijing. It was an odd brand of "socialism," a terrifying aberration that abolished each and every freedom, abolished all private ownership, abolished money and markets, advocated cruelty and ignorance and went even further than the "people's commune" of Beijing that had been praised by Mao Zedong as being "creative," being "unique," as being quick, thorough and so forth. This Beijing model was cast aside at the very time that the expansionists in Beijing were dreaming about the possibility of exporting it to the countries of the third world, thus, how can they feel anything other than intensely bitter!

Thirdly, in its plan to expand into Southeast Asia, China has vainly focused its efforts on cracking the solid revolutionary dike that is Vietnam in order to open the way for the annexation of the other countries within the region. By devising plans and pouring in money to guide and control the Pol Pot clique, the Beijing expansionists acquired an especially effective tool, a sharp knife stuck in the side of Vietnam at a time when Vietnam was still covered with the wounds of war, acquired an effective commando force already in place with which to sabotage and annex all of Southeast Asia, a vast region of rich natural resources that occupies a very important strategic position. This sharp knife was broken in half and this effective commando force was nullified. How can Beijing feel anything other than intensely bitter!

Having suffered an unexpected and bitter defeat, the expansionists, in a fit of temper, sent 600,000 troops to invade the northern border provinces of Vietnam, troops that engaged in indiscriminate destruction and murder in every area they invaded, thus exposing themselves as vile and powerless reactionaries to the people of the world. They had hoped that their invasion would rebuild the morale of the remnants of the Pol Pot army, an army whose organization had been shattered, whose morale had collapsed; however, their shameful defeat further sealed the total collapse of this clique. With this, the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists became even more bitter. They have frantically tried to revive the remnants of the Pol Pot army, resorted to all sorts of vile fabrications to slander and discredit the good deeds of the Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea and collaborated with the imperialists to intensify the wide-ranging war of sabotage against our country. They have suffered bitter defeats and will surely suffer total defeat in their blind and insidious plan to expand southward.

A New Situation, a Situation Better Than Ever Before

The historic victories of the revolutions of Vietnam and Kampuchea, the total defeat of the Pol Pot aggressor army along the southwestern border of Vietnam and the overthrow of their rule throughout the territory of Kampuchea together with the great victory of the Lao revolution have created a totally new situation in this vital strategic region.

This is because, since the start of 1979, the militant alliance among the three fraternal countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, among three

independent and unified states that are advancing toward socialism together, has been made stronger than ever before. Through peace, friendship and cooperation treaties together with a host of bilateral and trilateral economic, financial, foreign trade, cultural and art agreements among the three fraternal countries, the political, military, economic and ideological strengths of each country have been markedly increased. On the other hand, the comprehensive cooperation and alliance of the three fraternal countries with the Soviet Union, the citadel of revolution and world peace, and with the other socialist countries have made the position and forces of revolution in Southeast Asia stronger than the forces of counter-revolution, have made socialism in this region strong.

In Kampuchea, although the aftereffects of the terrifying campaign of genocide are still serious and persist in all aspects of socio-economic life and despite the intense efforts at sabotage by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the reactionaries within the government of Thailand, life is returning to the country more beautifully and more quickly than even the most optimistic projections. Agriculture was quickly restored and has begun to develop. Industrial installations are being gradually restored and large, unprecedented achievements have been recorded in education and public health under the people's government. The national culture and art have been restored and begun to develop and show many new prospects. Order and security are being maintained and strengthened with each passing day throughout the country.

Of very important significance is the fact that the basic factors that form the strength of the revolution, of the state have been created or markedly strengthened during the past 5 years. A new Constitution has been drafted and ratified. A National Assembly has been elected through universal suffrage. The government has been strengthened from the basic to the central levels. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, which has grown in size and quality, has adopted a very correct and creative revolutionary line and revolutionary measures, is participating in international activities more widely and effectively with each passing day and has the trust and support of the people of the entire country. The United Front To Build and Defend the Kampuchean Fatherland, which has been strengthened and expanded and enjoys a nationwide base of support, has made large contributions to the creation of solid national unity and consensus of opinion in each revolutionary task. The Youth Union, the Women's Union, the Trade Union and all other mass organizations have very strongly expanded their ranks, conduct activities of high quality and hold national congresses, thereby making an important contribution to the rebirth and development of the country. The Kampuchean Revolutionary Army has taken long strides forward in its organization, command, training and equipment; its strong main force units, together with the growing local army and the widespread militia forces, are a source of tremendous pride to the people of Kampuchea, are the strength of the Kampuchean revolution in the new era.

During the past 5 years, despite encountering many difficulties in all aspects of life due to the consequences of the barbarous genocide, the nation of Kampuchea has displayed remarkable vitality in the rebirth and restoration of the country and created a beautiful situation, one unprecedented in Kampuchea.

In fact, never before has Kampuchea had a party to lead it in exact accordance with a scientific and creative Marxist-Leninist line; never before has the entire nation been united as a solid bloc and clearly recognized who their enemies and who their friends are; never before have the country's prospects for following the path of the socialist revolution, abolishing poverty, injustice and exploitation, building a totally new and superior society and fully developing its material and spiritual strengths been as bright as they are today. Never before has the country of Kampuchea had people's armed forces that truly fight and die for the independence, freedom and happiness of the people and are completely loyal to the country and the people. Never before have the revolution and country of Kampuchea been as closely associated with the new age, with the real socialist system, with the three powerful revolutionary currents of our times as they are today.

The situation in Kampuchea is truly a beautiful situation, one that holds many optimistic prospects. The overall situation of the three countries of Indochina uniting and cooperating ever more closely and fully and advancing toward socialism together is also more beautiful than ever before, thus making an important contribution to maintaining and promoting revolution in Southeast Asia, Asia and the entire world in this age seething with revolution.

Their Broad Strategic Defeats Can Become Even Broader

In Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the imperialists have suffered their worst defeats, defeats of strategic significance. All of their most cruel and crafty schemes have been employed by them in this vital region and all have met with tragic defeat.

Being subjective and blind is an inherent malady of all reactionaries. Despite the fact that they suffered a painful defeat in the disorderly withdrawal of the U.S. imperialists in 1975 and despite the disgraceful defeat suffered by the 600,000 Chinese aggressor troops in early 1979, they remain intent on collaborating with each other to undermine and commit aggression against Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

However, regardless of how many new and villainous schemes they pursue, they can in no way reverse the situation.

This is because the revolution has entered a new period in the three countries of Indochina. The solidarity and the comprehensive alliance and cooperation among the three countries as well as their solidarity with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have increased the strength that each country brings to its development and defense many times. The people of the three fraternal countries have a profound understanding of the nature of the enemy, are always highly vigilant and possess all the capabilities and strengths needed to defeat each reckless action as well as each evil scheme carried out by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists.

This is because the revolution in the three countries of Indochina is moving in the same direction as the trend of history, as the trend of development of the world in the modern age, the basic feature of which is the transition from

capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. The reactionaries and the imperialists are insanely angry but their position is a position of weakness and their final defeat is unavoidable.

This is also because the expansionists and hegemonists are constantly making clear their intention to commit naked aggression against Southeast Asia and will find themselves facing the determined will of the people of this entire region to maintain their independence and freedom. Even the bourgeois rulers of the ASEAN countries clearly recognize the danger of intimidation, threats and aggression posed to their countries by Beijing. The trend toward dialogue between the countries of Indochina and the ASEAN countries for the purpose of achieving stability and cooperation beneficial to all sides is an objective trend.

This is also because the internal situation of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the imperialists is one of constant instability. The vicious fighting, purges and assassinations occurring throughout China have reached the point of new disorders in the nature of a bloody and pervasive civil war. In the United States, the Reagan administration, having fully revealed its aggressive and militaristic nature, is being denounced by the entire world and is courting the indignation of great numbers of people and many political powers, even within the United States. The allies of the United States have displayed attitudes of maintaining their distance from, not supporting or even protesting the Reagan administration's criminal invasion of Grenada. Reagan is entering the final year of his term as President facing towering political, economic and diplomatic difficulties.

In their effort to undermine the country of Kampuchea, they are encountering a new obstacle. It is the fact that the Pol Pot clique, the force that the Chinese expansionists consider to be the main force in creating confusion, is extremely weak politically and being denounced by the entire world. They continue to embrace an evil power and bring the indignation of the entire world down upon themselves.

For this reason, every criminal scheme carried out by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with imperialism to commit aggression against or undermine Kampuchea and the three countries of Indochina, in general, amounts to nothing more than banging their heads against a wall, than making their strategic defeat in this region deeper and broader. They must pay an increasingly high price for their criminal actions.

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THE PRESS AND THE SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 84 pp 58-64

[Presentation by Hong Chuong, delegate from the TAP CHI CONG SAN Chapter, at the 4th Congress of the Vietnam Journalists Association, 8 December 1983]

[Text] Dear Presiding Officers,

Dear Delegates,

We fully endorse the evaluation of the situation regarding our press activities as presented in the report by the executive committee. Below, I would like to express some thoughts concerning the research of press history and theoretical work regarding the press.

The press first appeared in our country 118 years ago. However, during its first 60 years, our country's press was the press of the colonialists and their lackeys. Only when Uncle Ho began to publish THANH NIEN Newspaper on 21 June 1925 did the nation of Vietnam truly have its own press. Uncle Ho was the founder of our revolutionary press, a press that is closely linked to the nation, to the working class and laboring people of Vietnam, a press imbued with the thinking of Marxism-Leninism, a press that brandishes the banners of patriotism and socialism. How glorious is our press, the press founded by the great President Ho Chi Minh.

In its 58 years of extremely heroic fighting, our revolutionary press has rapidly matured and recorded outstanding achievements. Looking back over the various periods of history that our press has experienced, we feel very deep pride in our press because it is worthy of being the press of the heroic nation of Vietnam, of the great Communist Party of Vietnam. Prior to the August Revolution, throughout the 20 years of the difficult struggle waged under the bloody rule of the French colonialists, our press made tremendous contributions to propagandizing and organizing the masses and preparing our forces to seize political power throughout the country. From 1945 to 1975, in 30 years of very glorious armed struggle, our press made positive contributions to protecting the revolutionary government, to the victory over the French imperialists and then the U.S. imperialists and to the completion of national liberation and the reunification of the country. During the past 8 years, under the leadership of the party, our press has performed its

revolutionary tasks well in the new stage, contributing to the defeat of the two wars of aggression waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and their lackeys and supporting socialist transformation and socialist construction throughout the country. With legitimate pride, our press stands among the progressive press corps of the world today.

In the long course of its development, the Vietnamese revolution has given birth to countless talented journalists. President Ho was a brilliant journalist. Tran Phu, Nguyen Van Cu, Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai and the other founders of the organs of the party were also eminent writers. Le Duan, Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong...are excellent journalists. Today, although they are busy with the leadership work of the party and state, they still concern themselves with press activities and are continuously writing articles for newspapers. It can be said that our country's revolutionary press is a school that trains and forges the principal leaders of our party and state. Our journalists can take great honor in having such glorious predecessors. We promise to follow the examples set by those who preceded us in our journalistic community and do our very best to fulfill our task on the revolutionary press front.

The Vietnamese press is the press of a country that was a semi-feudal colony, a country in which small-scale production predominates, a country that is advancing directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. The Vietnamese press has special characteristics and is unlike the press of the other countries of the world.

Researching the history of the Vietnamese press and determining the laws behind its birth and development will assist us in developing the socialist Vietnamese press of today. The Vietnamese press, especially our revolutionary press, has gained broad experience. Researching the history of our press and summarizing the broad experience of our press, its successes as well as failures, its experience in the use of theme and genre as well as in newspaper composition and layout will surely play a positive role in helping to train journalists and improve the quality of our press.

At present, we have no book on the history of the Vietnamese press. We must eventually produce such a book. I think that this is one of the jobs that our journalists association must perform. The writing of the history of the Vietnamese press will require the combined efforts of many persons. This must be a collective project undertaken by all of us, from journalists and scholars of press history to the instructors who teach press history in the journalism classes at colleges. Each newspaper and radio editorial board must write the history of its own newspaper or radio station. Each locality and sector must write the history of its press. Of course, the Executive Committee of the Vietnam Journalists Association must establish a section concerned solely with compiling the history of the press. I also think that we must establish an Institute of Research on Press History at some point in the future.

Without revolutionary press theory, there can be no revolutionary press. Marx, Engels and Lenin were the authors of the theory of the proletarian press. President Ho and our party applied the revolutionary press theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin to the specific circumstances of our country and

adopted the correct line for developing our country's revolutionary press. The directives issued by President Ho, the resolutions of the party and the speeches by party leaders concerning the press have laid the first stones in the foundation for Vietnamese revolutionary press theory. With a firm grasp of the spirit embodied in these directives, resolutions and speeches, we must delve deeply into researching the history of our press, summarize the achievements that our press has recorded and reach conclusions of a theoretical nature in order to guide the day to day work of our press and, on this basis, build the theory of the Vietnamese socialist press.

The research of press history and work regarding press theory are closely inter-related. Only by closely coordinating the research of press history with work involving press theory can we promote the development of our profession.

Our press theory is not empty theory drawn from books, but theory crystallized through the realities of our country's press under the light of Marxism-Leninism. Without press theory to light its way, our press would be blind and be unable to develop beyond empiricism. In order for our press to develop rapidly and be brought to the level of the tasks of the revolution in the new stage, we must promote work involving press theory.

We often repeat the famous words of Lenin: the press is the collective propagandist, the collective agitator, the collective organizer. These famous words of Lenin have had a profound impact upon our Vietnamese journalists. However, we must know the circumstances in which Lenin said these words. He said them before the revolution had won victory, before the working class had seized political power and even before the new style party of the proletariat had been founded.(1) Progressive revolutionary militants used the press as a tool for propagandizing, agitating and organizing the masses, organizing the vanguard unit of the proletariat and preparing forces for seizing state power. After the revolution won victory and state power was put into the hands of the proletariat and the laboring people, these words continued to be correct but not entirely. Following the October Revolution, Lenin said: "The press must be used as a tool to build socialism." The function of the press once political power had been seized was no longer the same as when clandestine revolutionary activities were being conducted and before state power had been won. In the stage of socialist construction, during which the central task is developing production, the function of the press is completely different than it was during the period of armed struggle to protect the revolutionary government.

At this point in time, our party has established as our foremost task building the system of socialist collective ownership under the guideline "the party leads, the people exercise ownership and the state manages." Our press today must be the tool of leadership of the party, the tool of ownership of the masses and the tool of management of the dictatorship of the proletariat state. These are the new features of our press today, now that our party has become the party in power. These features cause today's press to be different from our press in past years, before political power had been won. I maintain that these features are the key point in our theory regarding the press of the ruling party. By adhering to this point, our press can make competent contributions to the implementation of our party's line on the socialist

revolution and its line on building the socialist economy and help advance our people's revolutionary cause to total victory.

In view of the fact that the party is leading the state government, our press must provide a flow of information in two directions. It must not only propagandize the lines and policies of the party and state from the upper to the lower levels, but must also reflect the opinions, aspirations and initiatives of the masses from the lower levels upward. If we only emphasize the function of the press as the collective propagandist, agitator and organizer, that is, if we only recognize the press as the tool of leadership of the party and the tool of management of the state, we ignore the function of the press as the voice of the masses, as the tool of collective ownership by the masses under the leadership of the party and the management of the state. Within socialist collective ownership, our party builds and our people use the press as the tool for implementing their right of collective ownership, for participating in the management of the economy and society. To become a competent tool of the masses in the exercise of their right of collective ownership, our press must maintain close contact with the masses, must deal with the pressing issues in the daily lives of the masses. Only by waging a determined struggle against the maladies of bureaucracy and authoritarianism within the press can we journalists make positive contributions to the building of the system of socialist collective ownership within our country.

One of the distinctive characteristics of our press when the party is in power is the increased use of the press for the purpose of voicing criticism. The law of development of our party, state and people is the practice of criticism and self-criticism. Public criticism and self-criticism of a broad mass nature in the press is a form of democratic activity that is very necessary in the forward progress of our party, state and people. It has a strong inspirational and educational impact upon cadres, party members and the masses and has the purpose of insuring that each political task of the party and state is performed in the best manner possible. The expanded use of the press to voice criticism can generate strong public opinion in praise of good persons and good work while stopping and correcting incorrect actions, combating old ways of thinking, old ways of doing things and bad habits and developing socialist thinking, socialist ethics and the socialist style. The use of the press to voice criticism must be expanded in order to promote the work of the party and state.

Our party attaches special importance to voicing criticism in the press. Resolution 60/NQ dated 8 December 1958 and Political Bureau Directive Number 197/CT-TU dated 13 March 1972 established the task of making increased use of the press to voice criticism. The 13 March 1972 Political Bureau directive stated that all newspapers on the central and local levels must "practice criticism and self-criticism of a mass nature concerning the activities of party organizations, the government, mass organizations, specialized sectors, cadres, party members and state personnel in the performance of political tasks, considering this to be an important expression of the militancy of each newspaper." The Political Bureau directive stated that each cadre, party member and citizen has the right to write critical articles in newspapers but that the publication of these articles is the responsibility of the agency in charge of the newspaper. Collectives and individuals who are criticized in

the press must respond in the press. The 13 March 1972 Political Bureau directive "on making increased use of the press to voice criticism" stated: "Expanding the practice of criticism and self-criticism in a correct manner is a firm guarantee of the invincible strength of our party and state. Supporting and participating in criticism and self-criticism are the obligation of each cadre, party member and citizen. Preventing criticism and self-criticism is a violation of party discipline and state law."

The press is the organ of the party and, at the same time, the voice of the people. Letters sent by readers and listeners to newspapers and radio stations are a way by which citizens exercise their right of collective ownership in the management, supervising and inspection of the activities of agencies, cadres and personnel of the state. On 8 June 1979, the Council of Ministers issued Decree Number 217-CP, which stipulated (Article 23) that state agencies must respect, examine, act upon and seriously respond to the opinions voiced by the people through the press or radio. On 13 November 1979, the premier issued a directive on acting upon the letters sent by readers or listeners to newspapers and radio stations. This directive clearly states that when they receive letters of criticism or complaint from readers or listeners, newspapers and radio stations have the right to investigate or inquire about or request that responsible agencies clarify or act upon the matters raised in the letters of readers and listeners. Each agency or individual that is criticized or queried in the press or over the radio has the responsibility to accept the criticism offered and rectify the shortcoming in question; and, each also has the right to clear themselves of charges that result from a misunderstanding of the situation by the public and refute allegations that are not consistent with facts.

In strict compliance with the directives of the party and state concerning criticism in the press, our newspapers and radio stations have made efforts to support the political tasks of the party, propagandize and explain the lines and policies of the party and state and praise good persons and good work while criticizing phenomena that violate the lines and policies of the party, criticizing bureaucracy, laziness, waste and corruption and struggling against negative phenomena in society.

The documents of the party and state clearly define the specifics involved in criticism and self-criticism in the press. However, many places still have the practice of not accepting criticism or only accepting it in a form for form's sake manner; at some places, steps have even been taken to retaliate against persons who voice criticism and make it difficult for newspapers to print critical articles. Those who impede or retaliate against the voicing of criticism within the press do not know that they are violating the discipline of the party and laws of the state.

Dear Delegates,

At present, our press is making every effort to carry out the two strategic tasks set forth by the 5th Congress of the Party: successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

To which questions must our press give its attention to insure that these two strategic tasks are performed well? In our opinion, our press must attach foremost importance to economic propaganda and propaganda regarding labor. This is difficult work for our press. Because, our journalists are inexperienced in this area. Our press has experience in clandestine activities conducted under the rule of imperialists and feudalists. Our press also has experience in propaganda regarding armed struggle and in resistance war propaganda. However, our press clearly does not have much experience in propaganda regarding production and economic construction. Of the two strategic tasks set forth by the Party Congress, our press does have some experience in propaganda related to the defense of the fatherland. Of course, in view of the new circumstances that exist now, the people's war to defend the fatherland is different in some ways from the war of liberation that our army and people fought during the past 30 years, consequently, our press must bring the content and forms of its propaganda up to date in order to be able to properly support the task of defending the fatherland in the new situation. In this particular area, our press did gain a good deal of experience in the 30 years of propaganda in support of the war of resistance. However, as far as propaganda in support of socialist construction is concerned, it can be said that our press has no experience.

To build socialism, it is first of all necessary to talk about labor. In his work "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Lenin taught: "The press must bring the issue of labor into the forefront." Lenin also talked about the need to transform the press from an organ primarily involved in the dissemination of daily political news into a dependable organ for teaching economics to the people. He said: "We must, and surely will, change the press from an organ that specializes in presenting exciting news, an organ for the dissemination of ordinary political information and an organ struggling against misrepresentations by the bourgeoisie into a tool for educating the masses in economics, a tool for introducing to the masses the methods of organizing labor based on the new mode."

Our press is a tool for building socialism. After the laboring people have been liberated and begin to build the new life, the strength of examples provides the conditions needed to have a strong impact upon the masses. Advanced models in work, production and the organizing of daily life play a large role in teaching, guiding and promoting the progress of all of society. By introducing advanced models, making detailed presentations of their achievements, studying the causes underlying their success and studying their work methods and management procedures, our press will fulfill its role in socialist construction. In an article entitled "On the Nature of Our Press," Lenin pointed out that the main task of the press during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism is to educate the masses through the use of specific, vivid examples in each field of life. Lenin also instructed journalists: engage in less intellectual debate. Move yourselves closer to life. Give more attention to examining how the mass of workers and peasants have actually created the new in their everyday work. Be more strict in your assessment to determine how communist the new is.

Along with presenting advanced models and exemplary units, it is necessary to criticize weak and deficient units. Lenin demanded that the press establish a

"black list" of places that continue to stubbornly cling to the "traditions of capitalism," that is, the traditions of anarchy, laziness, disorder and speculation. Lenin considered this to be one aspect of the class struggle during the period of transition and viewed its purpose as protecting the interests of the working class against those groups, contingents and strata of workers that stubbornly cling to the traditions and habits of capitalism and hold the same attitude toward the socialist state as they did toward the old state: supply "it" with as little labor as possible, with labor of the worst possible quality and take from "it" as much as possible.

To meet the requirements involved in socialist construction, the press must dedicate the majority of its pages to economic propaganda. According to Lenin, newspapers tasked with providing guidance must devote less space to politics and more space to propaganda related to production; newspapers that deal exclusively with production should only devote a small percentage, not more than one-fourth, of their space to politics, with the remainder being devoted to unified economic planning, labor, propaganda related to the economy and the training of workers and farmers to participate in socio-economic management.

The press is the best means for heightening the sense of self-imposed discipline of laborers. Our press praises examples of high productivity, quality and efficiency in work. Our press also exposes negative phenomena in economic life, forthrightly criticizes shortcomings, brings to everyone's attention the cancers in our economic life and, in this way, generates public opinion among the laboring masses to remove these cancers. Only in this way can our press have an impact upon our people's socialist construction.

Dear Presiding Officers,

Dear Delegates,

President Ho, the founder of our revolutionary press, said: Our press must serve the laboring people, serve socialism. He demanded that journalists possess a firm political stand. He also demanded that all media of our press follow a correct political line.

Uncle Ho said: "The purpose of our press is not to serve a small readership, but to serve the people, to propagandize and explain the lines and policies of the party and government; therefore, our press must be a militant press of a mass nature."

Le Duan, general secretary of the Party Central Committee, has also said: "The press—an important element in propaganda—is a revolutionary weapon, is a field of work that demands both science and art."

Le Duan has defined the task of our press in the present stage as continuing to teach the glorious militant tradition of the nation and vigorously upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people in all fields, using this as a moving force propelling the three revolutions to victory and insuring the successful construction of socialism and the firm defense of the socialist fatherland.

To journalists, Le Duan has given the following advice: "To be a successful journalist, you must be very revolutionary and very scientific and possess artistic talent."

In a letter to the 4th Congress of the Vietnam Journalists Association, Truong Chinh advised journalists: "You who write the newspapers of our country must always remember and faithfully follow the teachings of President Ho Chi Minh and follow his example; make every effort to learn Marxism-Leninism and thoroughly grasp the lines and policies of the party; become part of the life of the people and closely associate yourselves with the revolutionary movement of the masses; and summarize your own experiences as journalists while examining the experiences of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries regarding the press. Work hard to improve the ideological, militant and mass nature of the revolutionary press, continuously improve your work and profession and fulfill your glorious task."

By firmly adhering to the viewpoints expressed by President Ho and our party concerning the press and by working hard to achieve continuous progress, we will surely successfully complete the task assigned to our press by the party and people.

I thank you for your attention.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin wrote these words in a 1901 article entitled "Where To Begin?" The Russian Bolshevik Party did not come into being until 1903.

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STUDIES: THE LAWS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION--
ESTABLISHING AND STRENGTHENING THE LEADERSHIP OF THE LABORING MASSES BY THE
WORKING CLASS, THE NUCLEUS OF WHICH IS THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 84 pp 65-71

[Article by Quyet Tien]

[Text] In the course of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, establishing and strengthening the leadership of the laboring masses by the working class, the nucleus of which is the Marxist-Leninist party, are a law of foremost significance.

As we know, the socialist revolution and socialist construction are a process of very arduous, bitter revolutionary struggle to topple the rule of the capitalists, establish the revolutionary government of the working class and then launch the class struggle in every field of social life in order to completely transform the old society and build a new society in which there is no exploitation of man by man. In order for such a revolutionary process to achieve victory, it must, of course, be under the resolute, wise leadership of a vanguard class, a class to whom history has entrusted the mission of leading all the laboring people in the struggle to realize this noble cause. Of all the classes of bourgeois society, the only class that has this worldwide mission is the working class.

The discovery of the worldwide, historic role of the working class was the great service performed by Marx and Engels. This discovery, as Lenin said, is the main point in the doctrine of Marx.

Due to its socio-economic position within bourgeois society, the working class acquires the special attributes it needs to fulfill this historic role.

Most importantly, the working class is the most progressive class. As the child of large-scale industry, the working class represents modern, socialized production forces. As bourgeois society advances, these modern, socialized production forces develop and come into sharp contradiction with capitalist production relations, which are based on private ownership by capitalists. This fundamental economic contradiction of bourgeois society is manifested politically as an irreconcilable contradiction between the working class and

the bourgeoisie. The revolutionary struggle waged by the working class leads to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the building of socialism, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man and the abolition of each class in society. Thus, the working class not only represents modern, socialized production forces, it also represents the objective trend of development of mankind to socialism and communism. The working class is a class that has a very glorious future because it has grown up and matured along with the development of large-scale industry and the development of the class struggle against the capitalists, in the process of which such middle classes as small landowners, small merchants and so forth undergo increasing disintegration and a large percentage of these persons go bankrupt and join the ranks of the working class. Because it is closely associated with large-scale industry, when the working class controls state power, it also controls powerful material and technical factors for transforming the world, strongly developing production forces and stimulating the constant advancement of society. It represents the brilliant future of all mankind.

The working class is a thoroughly revolutionary class. Marx and Engels often said: Of all the classes in bourgeois society, only the working class is truly revolutionary. This is because the working class owns no instruments of production, must live by selling its labor and is harshly oppressed and exploited by the bourgeoisie. The interests of the working class are the total opposite of the interests of the bourgeoisie. The working class is not only the political force opposed to the bourgeoisie, but is also the most steadfast enemy of all forms of oppression, exploitation and injustice. This thoroughly revolutionary attitude is not only manifested in the struggle to throw off the yoke of bourgeois rule, it is also vividly expressed in the process of abolishing the old society and building the new society, a society in which there is no exploitation of man by man. As the classical authors of Marxism-Leninism said, the working class is the only class that will see the revolution through to its end, to the total victory of socialism and communism. In addition to the reasons cited above, this is also due to the fact that the working class is the only class capable of totally severing itself from every ideology of the old society.

The working class is a highly organized and disciplined class. This special attribute is created within the environment of large-scale industrial production and forged, solidified and strengthened in the process of the sharp class struggle against the bourgeoisie and other exploiters. In the course of its long revolutionary struggle, the working class becomes increasingly aware of the fact that solidarity, organization and discipline are effective weapons that can help it rally around itself large allies to join it in fighting and winning victory over the enemy.

The working class is an international class. On the basis of capitalist production reaching a high level of socialization, not only within each country, but throughout the world as well, the bourgeoisie of the various countries not only maintain long-standing economic ties with one another, they also maintain political ties with one another for the purpose of perpetuating their rule. In its struggle against the alliance of the international bourgeoisie, the working class absolutely must closely unite on an international scope to fight the enemy. This is the basis of the great slogan

"proletarians of all countries, unite!" that Marx and Engels presented in their famous work: "The Communist Manifesto." When capitalism became imperialism and they began to oppress and exploit not only the working class and laboring people of their own country, but all other nations as well, Lenin advanced the slogan: "Proletarians of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!" Of course, the working class wages its revolutionary struggle within each separate country, the worker movement of each country is always a component of the international worker movement. And, in the age of imperialism, it is only through solidarity between the worker movements of the capitalist countries and the liberation movements of the oppressed nations is it possible to win victory over the common enemy, the international imperialists.

The working class, due to its nature, is the class that most readily accepts the most progressive philosophy of mankind, Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is the theory of revolutionary struggle, is the ideology of the working class. The scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism is the faithful reflection of the objective trend of development of mankind, the representative of which is the working class. The revolutionary nature of Marxism-Leninism is the vivid manifestation of the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the working class. The course that Marxism-Leninism charts for mankind is the objective of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the liberator of working mankind from all oppression and exploitation. Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical base for the formulation of a correct revolutionary line, one that leads the working class and laboring people in victoriously carrying out the socialist revolution. Therefore, it is not surprising that the vanguard parties of the working class in virtually all countries use Marxism-Leninism to guide each of their revolutionary activities. This banner of Marxism-Leninism, because of its precise and scientific nature and its noble purpose, is a strong attraction to hundreds of millions of persons on this planet today.

Due to all the attributes mentioned above, the working class is fully capable of playing the role as the leader of all the oppressed and exploited laboring masses in the struggle to liberate the class, liberate the nation, liberate society and advance the socialist revolution and socialist construction to final victory.

Of course, the working class does not lead the revolution directly, rather, it can only lead the revolution through its vanguard party, that is, the communist party.

We know that the worker movement only comes into existence when a certain stage of development is reached and that the communist party only comes into existence to lead the revolution. The birth of the communist party marks a new stage of substantive development of the worker movement; at the same time, it also marks a clear stage in the growth of the working class. It is only with the birth of the communist party that the worker movement becomes an independent movement with clearly defined objectives. It is also only then that the working class truly recognizes its historic mission. Once a class "of itself," it becomes a class "for itself." Once a class whose activities

were spontaneous, it becomes a conscious class with a clear sense of its historic role.

The communist party is the coordination of Marxism-Leninism with the worker movement. The party is the most progressive, most revolutionary and most tightly organized component of the working class. The party is also the highest form of organization of the working class and has the task of leading and coordinating the activities of all other organizations of the working class and laboring people, guiding them toward a common objective. Without the communist party, the working class cannot recognize or successfully fulfill its historic mission.

The party has interests that are identical to the interests of the entire working class and all laboring people. However, the party fundamentally differs from the other components of the working class: it is the vanguard unit, the political leader and the militant command staff of the working class.

As the vanguard unit of the working class, a unit armed with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, the party knows the conditions, advances and general results of the proletarian movement. The members of the party always take the lead in the struggle to liberate the class and liberate society.

As the political leader of the working class, the party provides the working class and laboring people with a correct platform for revolutionary struggle, one based on knowledge and application of the objective laws governing the development of society.

As the militant command staff of the working class, the party formulates and guides the implementation of strategy and tactics during each stage of the revolution to implement the platform of revolutionary struggle and gradually advance the revolutionary struggle of the working class and laboring people to final victory.

All of the facts presented above show that the Marxist-Leninist party, the nucleus of the working class, is the basic factor of most decisive significance in the victory of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and laboring people.

The party of the working class establishes and strengthens its leadership of the laboring masses by adopting a correct revolutionary line and revolutionary method (that is, a correct revolutionary platform and correct revolutionary strategy and tactics); teaching, organizing and mobilizing the broad laboring masses to implement the established revolutionary line and revolutionary method; constantly tightening its close ties with the masses through effective political, ideological and organizational work and through the exemplary actions of the cadres and members of the party. And, all of this is done in the process of struggling against class enemies, against the activities and influence of reformist and reactionary parties upon the people and even against incorrect tendencies within the party and the ranks of the revolution. Only in this way can the party of the working class establish and firmly strengthen its leadership of the laboring masses.

The realities of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries have proven this. The realities of our country's revolution during the more than one-half century under the leadership of the communist party have also proven this.

In our country, the working class, through its vanguard unit, seized the right to lead the revolution early, in 1930. This was possible because the Vietnamese working class, in addition to possessing the common attributes of the international working class as presented above, also possesses its own special attributes.

The Vietnamese working class was born and grew up in a semi-feudal colony and was suppressed and exploited by three different strata, the imperialists, feudal landowners and national bourgeoisie; therefore, it possesses a very determined and thorough revolutionary spirit. Soon after it was born, the Vietnamese working class had its own Marxist-Leninist party to lead it. The party established trade unions to organize, teach and mobilize workers for the struggle for the liberation of the nation and class, consequently, our working class was not divided politically, ideologically or organizationally. The Vietnamese working class entered the political arena following the victory of the great Russian October Revolution; after the failure of the opportunism of the 2nd International; after the Communist International came into being and began leading the world revolution; and after the bourgeoisie in many countries had betrayed the interests of their nations and the proletarian parties of many countries had claimed the banner of national independence and democracy, consequently, it quickly accepted Marxism-Leninism and was never influenced by opportunism. The Vietnamese working class, whose members have come primarily from the background of laboring farmers, has natural and very close ties with laboring farmers, consequently, the working class was able to establish a strong and lasting alliance with laboring farmers as soon as the party came into being.

All of these special attributes enabled our country's working class, through its vanguard party, to seize leadership of the Vietnamese revolution and retain it for more than one-half century.

Due to the special circumstances of our country in years past, a country in which the spirit of patriotism became deeply rooted among the various strata of the laboring people at an early date, the vanguard party of the Vietnamese working class represents the coordination of Marxism-Leninism with the worker movement and patriotic movement in our country. This has been a very important advantage for our party in establishing and strengthening its leadership of the non-proletarian laboring masses.

Also because of the special circumstances of our country in past years, the Vietnamese revolution led by our party must, of necessity, go through two different stages of revolution: the people's national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. The realities of the past one-half century and more have proven that the leadership provided by the party is the most decisive factor in the victory of the revolution in both of these stages.

As do all other communist parties, the Communist Party of Vietnam exercises and strengthens its leadership of the laboring masses by adopting correct revolutionary lines and methods; by teaching, organizing and mobilizing the masses to successfully implement the revolutionary line and methods it adopts; and by constantly strengthening its ties with the laboring masses by means of effective political, ideological and organizational work and even by means of the exemplary actions of cadres and party members.

Under the light of the great thinking of Nguyen Ai Quoc that "there is no other course to follow to save the country and liberate the nation other than the course of the proletarian revolution" and "only socialism, only communism can liberate the oppressed peoples and laborers of the world from the yoke of slavery" and on the basis of the arguments advanced by Nguyen Ai Quoc in the Summary Platform and Tactics of the Party, our party, in its first revolutionary platform, set forth a correct line on the people's national democratic revolution, the basic spirit of which was: waging an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution to win independence and carry out agrarian reform under the leadership of the working class and advancing directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. Workers and farmers were the main forces behind this revolution. Our party also successfully resolved the questions that arose concerning the revolutionary strategy and tactics of the people's national democratic revolution in our country. As a result, the August Revolution was a success, the resistance against France ended in victory and, in particular, a great victory, a victory of historic proportions and epochal significance, was won in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation.

As regards revolutionary strategy, our party clearly identified the enemies and allies of the working class, clearly identified the moving forces of the revolution in the strategic stage of the people's national democratic revolution as well as within each period of strategic significance during that stage and was, as a result, able to rally each and every revolutionary force, win allies and isolate the enemy in order to defeat them. In particular, our party has always correctly identified our specific, immediate enemy not simply who our enemies were in general, and differentiated between our main enemy and enemies of secondary importance. The party has isolated our specific, immediate enemy in order to topple them, taken advantage of the antagonisms within the ranks of the enemy to cause serious divisions among them and directed the thrust of the revolutionary struggle against our main, immediate enemy.

As regards revolutionary tactics, our party has always selected forms of struggle and organization and propaganda slogans consistent with the ebb and flow of the revolutionary movement in order to rally the broad masses, educate them and lead them to the revolutionary front in the most effective manner possible.

The leadership provided by the party is the basic factor that determined the victory of the people's national democratic revolution and will determine the victory of the socialist revolution.

The leadership of the party in the socialist revolution in the North in past years produced tremendous results. The rapid growth of the socialist North under the leadership and organization of the party made the most decisive contribution to the victory of the entire resistance against the United States for national salvation.

Since the start of the advance by our entire country toward socialism, our party, through its 4th and 5th Congresses, set forth and concretized the general line on the socialist revolution and the line on building the socialist economy, the basic features of which are: firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution. Our party has also established two closely related strategic tasks: successfully building socialism while maintaining combat readiness and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

The realities of the socialist revolution and socialist construction throughout our country during the past 8 years and more as well as the realities of the victorious fights against the two wars of aggression unleashed by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists against our country in recent years prove that the line and strategy adopted by our party are correct.

However, our party also has a number of shortcomings, especially in providing the close guidance needed to implement its line as well as in leading the government in the management of the economy and society. However, these shortcomings in no way nullify the decisive role played by our party in the course of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country.

The law of establishing and strengthening the leadership of the laboring masses by the working class, the nucleus of which is the Marxist-Leninist party, continues to be a universal law of foremost importance. It can be said that all countries, even those that are very underdeveloped economically, must observe this law in the process of advancing to socialism.

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THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA: 5 YEARS OF VICTORY IN RESTORING LIFE TO THE NATION AND SOCIETY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 84 pp 72-74

[Unattributed article]

[Text] During the 5 years since the Pol Pot genocidal regime, the cruelest regime in history, was toppled, the situation in Kampuchea has continuously improved. The birth of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the tremendous achievements that it has recorded have completely changed the face of the country and led the nation directly down a new path of development. A remarkable rebirth has occurred, one that has caused great surprise and admiration throughout the world.

Sufficient time has elapsed and sufficient facts exist for international observers to compare, in an impartial and objective manner, the days of maltreatment and shame of the Kampuchean people under the bloody rule of the Pol Pot genocidal clique to their bright life of freedom under the people's republic during the past 5 years.

The great historic victory on 7 January 1979 ushered in a new era for the suffering and heroic country of Kampuchea, the era of independence, freedom and the advance to socialism. In 1980, along with the victory of the military operations to destroy the strongholds of the enemy and drive the remnants of their forces across the western border, the people of Kampuchea, starting with nothing but their bare hands and working extremely hard, produced a bumper crop, thus staving off the terrible famine that seriously threatened the entire country. Then, in 1981, the people of Kampuchea recorded very large political victories. These victories came in the form of the fine success of the 4th Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, which confirmed the correctness of the revolutionary line and tasks, of the domestic and foreign policies of the country, and the excellent results of the National Assembly general election together with the ratification and promulgation of a democratic constitution and the appointment of a legitimate government, the only genuine representative of the people of Kampuchea. Elections of village level government officials were also held. Revolutionary mass organizations were established and developed on the basic level. Thus, in the space of 3 short years, a revolutionary government extending from the central to the

basic levels has been established and strengthened. This situation created political stability throughout the country.

Since 1982, the Kampuchean people have been working hard to implement the positions and policies of the party and state and recorded one important achievement after another in many different fields.

The revolutionary armed forces have gradually grown and matured and are now skilled in fighting the enemy as well as mobilizing the masses. The first All-Army Emulation Congress has proven the rapid development of the forces of the three arms of the military and shown the strength of the close unity between the army and people of Kampuchea in the cause of building and defending the fatherland. Coordinating armed combat with security measures, the army and people of Kampuchea have constantly taken the initiative in very effective attacks against the enemy. Virtually all of the enemy's plans for provocation, harassment, sabotage and territorial encroachment have been uncovered and thwarted before they could put them into effect. The enemy can only survive within a number of lairs that they have made in Thailand along the western border of Kampuchea. The rapid growth of the Kampuchea revolutionary armed forces in size and quality, in equipment and weapons as well as in technical proficiency, tactical skills and combat capabilities has been an important factor in the decision to withdraw some Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea in the recent past and the near future. This event offers further proof of the stability and permanence of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

Following 5 years of joining together in a wholehearted effort to rebuild their beloved country from nothing, the people of Kampuchea now enjoy an increasingly stable and gradually improving material and spiritual life. Legitimate human rights are guaranteed to each stratum of the Kampuchea people: the right to live with one's family and in one's village, the right to work and earn a living, the right to receive health care and an education, the right to relax and enjoy oneself, freedom of religion, freedom of movement and so forth. This situation is completely different from the pitiful and gloomy situation surrounding life under the extremely cruel and savage rule of the Pol Pot genocidal clique. There is not one reactionary propagandist who can distort this living reality.

The revolutionary movement of the people of Kampuchea has been and is continuing to develop throughout the country. All strata of the Kampuchean people have displayed confidence in and a feeling of closeness to the new system through enthusiastic, spirited actions in production, in the fight against the enemy and in the building of revolutionary forces. Many activists among manual workers, farmers, patriotic intellectuals and the other strata of laborers, especially women, have been selected to augment the state's corps of cadres. This corps has gained much practical experience in its work, received political and professional training and, as a result, has progressed and matured rapidly.

The large and comprehensive achievements recorded in the domestic field during the past 5 years have enhanced the prestige of the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea headed by President Heng Samrin--"the best government in

the hearts and minds of everyone" as an editorial in a foreign newspaper has observed.(1)

In the field of foreign affairs, the government and people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have been unswerving in their pursuit of a policy of peace and friendship toward all countries and have actively supported the trend toward independence and social progress. This correct foreign policy has turned Kampuchea from a springboard for wars of aggression by Beijing against neighboring countries into a positive factor of peace and stability in Indochina and Southeast Asia. For this reason, the position and prestige of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have been constantly enhanced in the international arena. Public opinion in many countries acknowledges that the present government in Phnom Penh is controlling and managing all the affairs of the country. Moreover, the malicious scheme being pursued by the Chinese expansionists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other international reactionary powers to support the Pol Pot genocidal clique through the guise of a "three faction coalition government" in a vain attempt to oppose and undermine the Kampuchean revolution has been continuously exposed and sternly denounced by progressive public opinion throughout the world.

The just cause of the Kampuchean people is continuing to develop and their position and forces are stronger than ever before. Time and the hearts of mankind are completely on the side of the government and people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The strength of the Kampuchean people has been multiplied many times by the strength of the unshakeable closeness that the people of the three fraternal countries of Indochina share in their long-standing, great friendship, their special solidarity and their cooperation in every area and by the fine relations of cooperation that are continuously being broadened between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries as well as friendly countries across the world.

As Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party pointed out, the People's Republic of Kampuchea has won large victories in the recent past "primarily as a result of the broad unity among cadres, soldiers, workers, farmers, intellectuals, monks, youths and the ethnic minorities, who have joined together in an effort to overcome every difficulty and made positive contributions to the emulation movement to defend and build the country, and as a result of the correct leadership of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party which, since its reorganization after 1 January 1979, has continued to uphold the fine tradition of the Indochinese Communist Party and follow the correct political line of genuine Marxism-Leninism. Our cadres, party members and people also clearly understand that the victories of our party and people cannot be separated from the generous and very valuable assistance provided by the Communist Party of Vietnam, by the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, by the army and people of fraternal Vietnam."(2)

Having worked very hard for 5 years to bring life back to their nation and society, the people of Kampuchea have the right to be proud of the large and

comprehensive achievements that have been recorded under the correct leadership of their party and government.

FOOTNOTES

1. The U.S. weekly newspaper THE MILITANT, 11 March 1983.
2. Excerpt from speech delivered at the meeting held in Phnom Penh to commemorate the 32nd anniversary of the founding of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (28 June 1951-28 June 1983).

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THE BRILLIANT ACHIEVEMENTS AND OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 84 pp 75-81

[Article Pham Xuan Nam on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the success of the Cuban revolution]

[Text] Exactly one-quarter of a century has passed since the success of the Cuban liberation revolution (1 January 1959). Compared to the length of history, the past quarter century truly represents a brief moment in time but it has been a period of countless major events and profound changes that have completely restructured the social life of Cuba, "the first island of freedom in America"! These victories have, at the same time, been outstanding contributions by Cuba to the common evolution of mankind in the modern age, the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale, an age that began with the great Russian October Socialist Revolution.

The most brilliant achievement and most important contribution to the Cuban revolution have been that it has helped to accentuate one of the basic characteristics of our times: successfully coordinating the national liberation struggle with the struggle to liberate society in the various stages of its development, thus moving national independence inevitably toward and closely associating it with socialism.

Cuba, a small, poor and backward country in the Western Hemisphere, was the last country in Latin America to free itself from the rule of old style Spanish colonialism, which lasted for 4 centuries. However, immediately thereafter, Cuba found itself controlled, impeded and enslaved by the neo-colonialism of the United States for a period of 60 years. Every aspect of Cuba's social life had deteriorated to a point beyond imagination:

The entire state apparatus, the richest natural resources, the key material production sectors and the entire network of human service agencies were controlled by U.S. capitalist monopolies and a small group of powerful Cuban landowners and capitalists, the allies and lackeys of the United States. The working people had been robbed of every means of earning a living and were sinking ever more deeply into dreadful unemployment, pervasive hunger, spreading disease, widespread illiteracy and numerous other ills.

This tragic social situation was brought to the light of justice by Fidel Castro, the organizer and commander of the attack on Moncada Fortress on 26 July 1953, when he read the statement defending himself in the court of the executioner Batista.

On the basis of deeply analyzing the scourge of national oppression combined with the class oppression by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, Fidel Castro, on behalf of the 26 July Revolutionary Movement, announced the famous Moncada Platform. This platform advocated uniting and organizing all strata of workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie in a struggle to topple the dictatorial Batista regime, the lackey of the U.S. imperialists, and establish a revolutionary government representing the will and aspirations of the broad masses. This government would take immediate steps to restore true independence to the country and broad political freedoms to the people, steps closely linked to resolving the six problems related to the vital interests of the people. These were: agrarian reform, industrialization, housing, unemployment, education and public health.

Thus, the Moncada Platform was, in essence, the platform of a thorough people's national-democratic revolution. It reflected the objective needs of Cuban society at that time and satisfied the deeply held aspirations of the island's people; at the same time, it was consistent with the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning the national liberation revolution in the modern age.

The Moncada Platform, because of all these strongpoints, became the torch lighting the way, became the banner of all strata of patriotic and progressive Cubans and drew them to the struggle against the lackey dictatorial regime of the U.S. imperialists for the national liberation and social liberation of Cuba.

That struggle, which lasted exactly 5 years, 5 months and 5 days, began with the attack on Moncada Fortress and the historic landing of troops from the ship Granma and ended with the swift march by the units of the Partisan Army from the Sierra Maestra combat zone to liberate the capital Havana, which was coordinated with a nationwide political boycott and led to the glorious victory of the Cuban liberation revolution on 1 January 1959.

The dictatorial Batista regime, the competent tool of U.S. neo-colonialism, had been crushed and a revolutionary government had been established throughout the country. A new stage of development in the 500 year history of the nearly 6 million inhabitants of the beautiful island of Cuba had begun.

However, the basic tasks involved in national liberation and the liberation of society within Cuba still had not been completed. The key sectors of the Cuban national economy were still controlled by U.S. monopolies. The economic bases of the powerful Cuban landowners and capitalists--the social base of U.S. colonialism--had not been destroyed. The standard of living of the various strata of working people, which constituted the main reason for the January revolution, had not been significantly improved.

At the same time, a number of rightist elements representing the thinking and interests of the rich, elements who had participated to some extent in the struggle against the dictatorial regime and held a number of seats in the provisional revolutionary government as a result of this participation, stubbornly insisted that with the overthrow of the Batista regime, the Cuban revolution had been "completed." As a result, they sought ways to impede true revolutionary reforms in a vain attempt to reach a compromise with the U.S. imperialists in order to keep Cuba within the orb of capitalism.

The leftist revolutionary forces, which consisted of the loyal militants of the 26 July Revolutionary Movement, the People's Socialist Party and the 13 March Committee to Guide the Revolution of students clearly saw that they could not be satisfied with what they had accomplished, could not stop at a point only half way to their goal but had to continue to advance the revolution in accordance with the common trend of the new age, national independence closely linked to socialism. As Fidel Castro wisely observed: "Our national liberation and social liberation must be closely linked to each other; to move forward is an historic necessity, to stop here would be an act of cowardice and betrayal and would turn Cuba into a colony of the United States once again, into the slave of exploiters."(1)

Under the light of this correct revolutionary line, the most thorough agrarian reform in the Western Hemisphere was carried out: 4.5 million hectares of cropland were confiscated from the owners of large plantations, that is, U.S. colonialists and large Cuban landowners; 70 percent of the land confiscated was used to establish large-scale people's farms; and the remaining land was distributed to 100,000 small farm families, with each family of 5 persons receiving 27 hectares of farmland.

Widespread urban reform was also carried out: housing rents were reduced by 50 percent, slums were abolished and hundreds of thousands of poor families were housed in apartments complete with conveniences that were once the property of the Batista clique and traitors who fled to foreign countries.

A nationwide campaign to wipe out illiteracy and build a widespread education network also achieved large results in record time.

The nationalization of all 583 large industrial, commercial and financial installations worth several billion dollars of U.S. monopolies and powerful Cuban capitalists was carried out, thereby changing the status of nearly one-half million industrial workers from that of working for hire to that of being the owners of their installations.

All of the socio-economic reforms described above were carried out in the midst of a hard and bitter struggle between the working people of Cuba, who had just seized political power and enjoyed the sympathy and support of the fraternal socialist countries and progressive mankind, and the U.S. imperialists, the reactionary powers and their allies and lackeys. This struggle reached its height in the counter-attack that annihilated the U.S. mercenary force on Hiron Beach in April, 1961. It was then that Fidel Castro declared to the entire world: "Our revolution is the democratic and socialist revolution of the poor, by the poor and for the poor"!

This glorious event showed that the Cuban people's cause of national liberation and social liberation had, by that point in time, won a victory of decisive significance, a victory that could in no way be reversed by the U.S. imperialists and their lackey reactionary powers.

Through the fundamental and comprehensive achievement mentioned above--the achievement of bringing national independence toward and closely linking it to socialism--the Cuban revolution had truly brought about a change in the lives of millions of laboring people, from lives as slaves to lives as the masters of their country and the masters of their own destiny, through the tightly organized and continuously improved system of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of the vanguard unit of the working class.

Within this system, the Cuban Workers Center, which has 2.5 million members and accounts for 97 percent of Cuba's manual workers and civil servants, has played a large role in educating and organizing the working class and other laborers and gaining their enthusiastic and highly effective participation in revolutionary movements, such as the movement to build and strengthen the revolutionary government, the movement to nationalize capitalist businesses, the movement to mobilize forces for sugarcane harvests, the movement to maintain and develop production under the circumstances of a country surrounded by imperialism and so forth. Together with the Cuban Workers Center, the National Association of Cuban Farmers is another organization that has made important contributions by teaching the concept of socialism to its 200,000 members, promoting the agricultural cooperativization movement, stepping up production and carrying out cultural and educational development as well as the development of public health care in the countryside. The Cuban Communist Youth Union and the Cuban Women's Union, both large mass organizations, have also conducted spirited and creative activities through which millions of their members have participated in the work of building and defending the country.

Playing a special role within the dictatorship of the proletariat system, the Committee for the Protection of the Revolution has attracted 5.5 million members, or 80 percent of the population above the age of 14. Throughout the 20 years of its existence, the committee has shown itself to be a force capable of conducting widely diverse political, economic, cultural, social and military activities and is truly the solid foundation of the revolutionary government in the effort to uncover and thwart each scheme and act of sabotage of the enemy and insure the inviolability of the socialist Cuban fatherland.

The process of codifying the state apparatus has also been promoted. On 24 February 1976, the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Cuba was officially promulgated, thus marking the end of the provisional stage of the revolutionary government born in 1959, charting the course for the establishment and strengthening of the state apparatus from the central to the basic levels and correctly insuring that the entire people's government system is a government of, by and for the people.

The highest leadership organization of the entire system of mass organizations and state government described above is the glorious Communist Party of Cuba.

Carrying on the outstanding tradition of the Cuban Revolutionary Party founded by Jose Marti to lead the war for independence at the end of the 19th century and on the basis of bringing together all of the most loyal elements of the 26 July Revolutionary Movement, the People's Socialist Party and the 13 March Committee to Guide the Revolution, the Communist Party of Cuba confirmed itself to be the vanguard unit of the working class and on its own accepted Marxism-Leninism as its ideological banner, as the compass guiding each of its activities. Thus, with the establishment of the Communist Party of Cuba (16 April 1961), as the Political Platform of the Communist Party of Cuba states: the Cuban revolution created an ideal political tool for insuring the continuity of the process of development and insuring that the final objective of the working class and all laboring people is met, namely, building socialism and communism.

The third great achievement of the Cuban revolution, one that represents another contribution made by it, is that it has helped to prove to the entire world the superior nature of socialism in constantly improving the material and cultural lives of the people on the basis of the successful completion of socio-economic development plans.

Prior to the revolution, the Cuban economy was a crippled, backward and one-crop economy dependent upon imperialism. Back then, although Cuba only had a population of roughly 6 million, as many as 600,000 persons were totally unemployed; 500,000 agricultural workers only had 4 months' of work each year; 400,000 industrial workers lived without hope for the future because they were being robbed of every product of their labor; 100,000 small farm families were barely surviving on land that did not belong to them; 3.5 million persons lived in slums; 75 percent of the children in the countryside were uneducated; 100,000 persons had tuberculosis and the average life span was very low.(2)

However, today, following on 25 years of transformation and construction, the Cuban economy is developing continuously and strongly in both scope and rate and the standard of living of the people has been vastly improved.

The economic strategy that has been adopted is: reorganizing and developing the national economy; correcting its structural imbalances; developing national industry; transforming and accelerating the development of agricultural production; increasing the variety and volume of exports; developing products to take the place of imports; and raising the standard of living of the people. Following the first stage, which focused primarily on agriculture, the main task of the plans for the development of the national economy, beginning with the 1976-1980 five year plan, is the industrialization of the country.

Under this economic strategy, all economic sectors in Cuba have experienced extraordinary growth.

Agriculture: sugarcane continues to be the main crop, accounting for 1.7 million hectares of the land under cultivation. The level of mechanization, water conservancy and chemical use within the sugarcane sector has increased greatly compared to the years preceding the revolution. The sugarcane yield rose from 42.8 tons per hectare in 1975 to 51.8 tons per hectare in 1980.

Under the 1976-1980 five year plan, Cuba annually produced 7 million tons of cane sugar, the highest average output in the entire history of the country's cane sugar sector. Projections for 1985 put Cuba's sugar output at 10 million to 10.5 million tons, which will provide for a significant increase in foreign currency revenues and support the strategy for economic development by the year 2000.

In addition to sugarcane, Cuba has promoted the cultivation of rice and quickly expanded the areas specializing in the production of vegetables, fruit, tobacco, coffee, cocoa and so forth in order to virtually correct the problem of having a one-crop agriculture and constantly increase the volume of agricultural products exported under the program for the division of labor and cooperation within CEMA.

Industry: following 25 years of transformation, construction and development, an industrial system consisting of a sugar industry, mining, metallurgy, machine production, an electric power sector, a chemical industry, a petroleum and natural gas industry, a building industry, light industry and a fishing and processing industry has been formed. The structure of this industrial system has been made increasingly rational, its scale has been constantly expanded and its level of technology as well as its output have been constantly raised.

Compared to the years preceding the revolution, output has increased by 50 percent in the sugar industry; increased three-fold in the mining industry (primarily nickel); increased six-fold in the power sector; increased 10-fold in the machinery-metallurgy sector; and, within the chemical sector, increased six-fold in the production of fertilizer and 20-fold in the production of herbicides. The building, communications-transportation, textile, paper, glass, wooden furniture, marine product harvesting and processing and other sectors have also taken major strides forward.

The important reason behind the continuous increases in the rate and scale of economic development in Cuba has been the implementation of the economic management improvement program adopted by the Communist Party of Cuba in the 1970's to correct the harmful consequences of the system of allocations based on estimates (that is, the subsidy system) that was widely applied during the early period following the success of the revolution and boldly shift to the socialist cost accounting system. The new management system attaches importance to the use of economic levers and incentives to raise labor productivity and reduce production and manufacturing costs. It gives attention to correctly coordinating material and psychological incentives and emphasizes the centralized, unified and legal nature of the state plan while enabling the basic units to display greater initiative and creativity.

In order to implement this new management system well, manifestations of "idealism," "utopianism" and light regard for objective economic laws as well as an indifferent attitude toward learning the advanced economic management knowledge and experiences of the fraternal socialist countries have been harshly criticized. The party demands that the cadres of all levels and sectors display a high spirit of responsibility, a high sense of organization and discipline, a desire to learn and make progress and a thorough, meticulous

style in putting the new management system into effect, considering this to be each person's obligation and honor.

The implementation of the new management system, the strengthening of economic potentials and the promotion of economic ties with the countries within the socialist community are extremely important factors in the effort by Cuba to meet and exceed the quotas of the 1981-1985 five year plan. Under this plan, by 1985, sugar output will increase by 20 to 25 percent, nickel output will more than double, power output will increase by 50 percent, industrial gas production will rise by 40 percent, chemical fertilizer production will increase by 50 percent, the output of textile products will increase by 50-60 percent, cement production will rise from 2.7 to 4.5 million tons per year, the harvesting of marine products will increase by 50 percent, the output of oranges and lemons will increase 2.5 times, milk production will increase by 30 percent and so forth compared to the final year of the previous plan.

On the basis of successfully completing their socio-economic development plans, the party and government of Cuba have constantly concerned themselves with improving the material and cultural lives of the people. The staggering unemployment left behind by the old regime has been eliminated. The educational level and occupational qualifications of workers have been cultivated and enhanced. A labor safety and hygiene law has been promulgated. An institute to safeguard and care for the health of workers has been established. The average monthly wage of workers has risen and now stands at approximately 140 to 150 pesos (1 pesos equals 1 U.S. dollar).

As a result of increases in their income (at a time when the prices of essential goods have remained the same), the purchasing power of the working people has increased greatly compared to the years preceding the revolution. More and more food products of high nutritional value are being sold without restrictions each day. The supply of cloth averages 15 meters per capita per year. The serious shortage of housing has gradually been corrected. At present, 75 percent of the country's population centers have electricity. As of 1980, in the areas that had electricity, 100 percent of households had radios, 74 percent had televisions, 38 percent had refrigerators, 34 percent had washing machines and so forth.

Illiteracy has been wiped out. Achievements have been recorded in the development of general and college education that have not been recorded in any other Latin American country. (At present, 1 of every 2.83 citizens is attending school). Cultural, literary-art, physical culture and sport activities have been developing more widely with each passing day.

State budget allocations for disease prevention and treatment and health care services for the people have constantly risen, reaching a level 22 times higher in 1980 than prior to the revolution. The people receive free medical examinations and treatment. Numerous dangerous diseases have been wiped out. The state has attached importance to the care of mothers and newborns and special attention is given to the raising of children less than 5 years of age. As a result of the higher standard of living, the average life span of the citizen has increased from 53 years (prior to the revolution) to 73 years.

Although it seems like a dream, this change in life has actually occurred in Cuba, the first island of freedom and socialism in America.

The brilliant achievements, achievements which have also been its outstanding contributions, of the Cuban revolution during the past one-quarter century are victories in the nature of a law, victories that have their origins in the strength of the nation and our times, in the patriotic and heroic tradition of struggle of the Cuban nation, a tradition that has been combined with the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the essence and pinnacle of man's intelligence in the modern age.

As Fidel Castro has stated, the tradition of history, the thoughts of Jose Marti and the principles of Marxism-Leninism are the origins of all the brilliant achievements that have been recorded by the Cuban revolution during the past several decades.

As they continue their forward progress, the Cuban people face the possibility of having to deal with many difficulties caused by the U.S. imperialists and other hostile powers. However, with the achievements it has recorded, with the experience it has gained and with the tremendous support of the three revolutionary currents of our times, the Cuban revolution will surely continue to steadily march toward its final objective, successfully building socialism and communism, and make worthy contributions to inspiring and stimulating the revolutionary movement in Latin America and the world.

With the deepest of feelings, the Vietnamese--as Chairman Pham Van Dong said--"send greetings of solidarity and victory to the fraternal Cuban people, a people whose tenacious fight and creative labor have become one of the most beautiful epics of our times."(3)

FOOTNOTES

1. Fidel Castro: "Cuba on the Path to Socialism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1978, p 38.
2. "Fidel Castro Denounces," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, p 15.
3. Address by Chairman Pham Van Dong at the High Level Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in Havana, September 1979.

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THE WORLD SITUATION: A LOOK BACK AT THE OLD YEAR AS WE BEGIN THE NEW

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 84 pp 82-88

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Generally speaking, as evidenced mainly in the following several areas, the world situation in 1983 was very tense.

In the face of the growth of the forces of peace and revolution, the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, intensified the arms race to a degree unprecedented. They have been making every effort to launch counter-attacks to rewin positions that they lost, thereby creating serious tensions in East-West relations and in virtually every region of the world. The counter-attack by the imperialists and reactionaries posed certain difficulties to the revolutionary forces in some areas; generally speaking, however, the revolutionary movement remained on the offensive throughout the world and continuously developed.

The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists made every effort to strengthen their collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, the Japanese militarists and the reactionary powers throughout the world and did their best to court and deceive the "third world" in order to rally forces in support of China's big country interests. Meanwhile, China continued to make unreasonable demands of the Soviet side so that it could refuse to improve Sino-Soviet relations and continued to display hostility toward Vietnam and the other countries in Indochina. This situation combined with the arms race policy being pursued by the United States in a vain attempt to achieve military superiority accelerated the struggle for peace and detente in East-West relations; at the same time, they had a profound impact upon all countries and made international relations more complex.

The economic crisis in the United States and the developed capitalist countries became increasingly serious. The trade and financial war among these countries became intense. Meanwhile, the countries of the "third world" bore the burden of each consequence of the economic crisis in the developed capitalist countries, as a result of which the developing countries encountered many socio-economic difficulties and their debts to foreign countries reached unprecedented proportions, bringing some countries virtually

to the brink of despair. The gap between the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries widened with each day; meanwhile, efforts to resolve the serious problems in international economic relations continued to be thwarted by stubborn opposition on the part of the imperialists, mainly the United States.

All three of the above mentioned aspects of the world situation in 1983 were closely interrelated and are having an impact upon one another, thereby creating a very serious, very fragile and very explosive situation. Without the determined resistance mounted by the forces of peace and revolution, the pillar of which are the Soviet Union and the socialist community, the irresponsible actions of the United States could have led the world to a global crisis, the consequences of which would have been incalculable.

At the start of 1983, following 4 years of pursuing the arms race and creating a tense situation, the imperialist and reactionary powers, headed by the U.S. imperialists, further intensified their full-scale counter attack against the forces of peace, national independence and socialism.

The U.S. government launched an intense effort to strengthen U.S. military might on an unprecedented scale through major programs for the production of all types of nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons. The Reagan administration pushed through the U.S. Congress the largest defense budget ever, one in which expenditures for weapons production and military growth alone rose to 188.5 billion dollars for fiscal year 1984. The U.S. Congress also approved funds for the production of the first MX missile. The United States also initiated experimental programs in the production and deployment of a new generation of land, sea and air based strategic nuclear weapons, announced programs to produce anti-satellite weapons deployed in space and so forth. The latest development has been the start by the United States of the deployment of medium range missiles in a number of western European countries despite the aspirations for peace of the Europeans and the people of the entire world, despite the good will and stern warnings of the Soviet Union and the socialist community. The deployment of missiles in western Europe by the United States is the cause of the breakdown in the negotiations with the Soviet Union concerning the limitations of theater and strategic nuclear weapons.

Taking advantage of the fact that conservative governments are in power in Great Britain, West Germany and Japan, the United States continued to urge the NATO countries and Japan to increase their military budgets. The United States turned the 7th Summit Conference of the developed capitalist nations in Williamsburg into a conference to coordinate the strategy of the West against the Soviet Union (in addition to the regular conferences of the foreign ministers and defense ministers of the NATO bloc), give encouragement to the trend toward rearmament and the restoration of militarism in Japan, press for the establishment of a U.S.-Japan-South Korea alliance and promote collaboration among the United States, China and Japan in order to oppose the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in Asia.

At the same time, the Reagan administration collaborated with the other reactionary powers in a succession of campaigns against the Soviet Union and

the socialist community and brought pressure to bear upon allies and clients to maintain the economic embargo against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, especially Poland. In particular, the Reagan administration used the violation of Soviet air space by the South Korean airliner and the downing of that airliner by the Soviet Union to launch a worldwide campaign against the Soviet Union.

At a time of tension in East-West relations, the Reagan administration, either directly or through allies and lackeys, increased its use of armed provocation, military intervention and even direct aggression against countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The arms race policy and the aggressive and bellicose actions of the imperialist powers, mainly the U.S. imperialists, were the single cause of the tensions in the world in 1983 and were a serious threat to military detente between East and West, a threat to the independence, sovereignty of all nations. The realities of the world situation in 1983 refuted China's argument that the race between the "two superpowers" (only the United States and the Soviet Union) is the cause of the threat to international peace and security.

However, the nature and degree of world tensions in 1983 differed from the tensions that existed in 1979 and 1980. In 1979 and 1980, the United States and China openly began their full-scale collaboration. With the consent of the United States and the West, China unleashed a large-scale war of aggression against Vietnam. The United States and China collaborated with each other in using the so called Kampuchean and Afghanistan issues to bring together the imperialists and international reactionaries in a plan to restart the cold war against the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Cuba and the other socialist countries. At that time, the crisis in Poland was also growing. China broke off negotiations with the Soviet Union at the same time that the United States cancelled the SALT II agreement and refused to reopen negotiations with the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic weapons. The Madrid Conference on European Security and Cooperation stalled. All regional situations, from Central America and the Middle East to Southeast Asia, were tense. Although the situation in 1983 was very tense, tensions were primarily centered in a number of regions and the nature and degree of tensions varied. The tension in Europe was primarily the result of the decision by the United States and some NATO countries to deploy medium-range missiles in western Europe. Meanwhile, the Polish situation stabilized. The Conference on European Security and Cooperation concluded with relatively positive results. Generally speaking, East-West economic relations, including those between the Soviet Union and the United States, although still severely restricted, continued to develop. The economic embargo and sanctions of the United States against the Soviet Union were virtually defeated. Under pressure from allies and domestic public opinion, the United States was forced to restart the negotiations with the Soviet Union. Reagan's plan was to negotiate while deploying missiles in western Europe, that is, to brandish the banner of peace (negotiations) while seeking military superiority, thus giving himself a trump card to play before entering the election year of 1984. The Soviet Union broke off the negotiations because the United States had already undermined the negotiations by deploying missile in western Europe. The action by the

Soviet Union satisfied the aspirations of millions of persons struggling for peace and against war in the world. It also took a card from Reagan's hand before the election year. Although unchanged, the relations between the Soviet Union and China were not as tense. In addition to Asia, the situations in two other regions, the Middle East and Central America, and, to a lesser extend, Northeast Asia, were more tense as a result of reckless actions by the United States. However, at these places, U.S. policy did not have the total support of U.S. allies. As regards the situation in Southeast Asia, where the collaboration between the United States and China is still close, the so called Kampuchean issue created by China and the United States is subsiding and gradually being resolved in a manner contrary to the malicious scheme of China and its lackeys.

The world situation in 1983 showed that the policy of the Reagan administration is very adventurous and dangerous and ignores public opinion but is not without its limits. The continuation of the arms race by the United States is designed to solve the economic crisis and keep allies within the orb of the United States. However, Reagan has encountered increasing opposition in Congress and among the American people demanding a reduction in military expenditures. The U.S. Congress rejected the request of the Defense Department to resume the production of chemical weapons that affect the nervous system. As regards the Soviet Union and the socialist community, the scheme of the United States has primarily involved using the arms race as a deterrent and to weaken the economy. The United States has acknowledged that it does not have the ability to achieve strategic superiority over the Soviet Union as it did in the 1960's. The deployment by the United States of medium range missiles in Europe is a reckless and very dangerous action. It poses the danger of leading to the outbreak of a war. However, in the face of the forces of peace and revolution of the entire world and the resolute measures taken by the Soviet Union, this action, too, has its limits and cannot easily upset the balance of forces in the world or its various regions.

The counter-attack by the United States and the imperialists during the past year was primarily concentrated at places at which revolutionary forces were divided and lacked vigilance, at places where the United States thought that it could win a rapid and complete victory. The U.S. invasion of Grenada and intervention in Lebanon proved this. At places where revolutionary forces were united and vigilant, the United States had to think twice because it saw that reckless intervention held the risk of becoming bogged down in a Vietnam-style war. According to American public opinion, this explains why the U.S. Congress and political circles gave the green light to Reagan to invade Grenada but will not dare allow the White House to send troops to invade and directly intervene in El Salvador, Nicaragua or Cuba. The majority of the American public does not support the present role of the United States in Lebanon. On the other hand, the U.S. invasion of Grenada has also been meeting with increased opposition from all strata of the people, especially U.S. students.

Consequently, one can see that the tensions caused by the U.S. imperialists in 1983, although capable of leading mankind to the brink of war, do not reflect strength on the part of the United States and the reactionaries nor have they

changed the comparison of forces in the world. The forces of peace and revolution continue to grow.

The three revolutionary currents of which the Soviet Union and the socialist community are the nucleus have continued their strategic offensive and constantly grown. The anti-nuclear peace movement has reached an unprecedented level of development.

The main target of the counter-attack by the imperialists and reactionary powers is the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. However, through this very struggle, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries have increasingly shown themselves to be the citadel of peace and the solid foundation of world revolution.

The year 1983 marked a new stage in the development of the Soviet Union and the socialist community. Displaying high determination, the leadership of the Soviet Union, headed by Y.V. Andropov, took a number of steps to invigorate the economy and stabilize social life, thereby bringing about very good changes in production and even in spiritual life. As a result, although still facing difficulties, the Soviet economy made very encouraging advances in 1983. These advances have shattered the illusion of the United States and reactionaries about promoting the arms race and creating a tense situation in order to bring about the collapse of the Soviet economy. Moreover, the serious economic crisis of the United States and the West has forced the West, including the United States, to re-establish economic relations with the Soviet Union. The situation in Poland is gradually stabilizing. The Polish situation last year reflected extraordinary efforts on the part of the people and leadership of Poland and the superior nature of socialism. At the same time, the gradual stabilizing of the situation in Poland shows that each country within the socialist community today is strong and capable of thwarting the subversive schemes of imperialism against their country without the need for the direct use of the military forces of a fraternal country as was the case in the 1950's and 60's.

Through their own strengths combined with the strengths of our times, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries resolutely opposed the reckless actions of the imperialists that threatened the peace, security, independence and sovereignty of nations. In particular, they expressed their resolute opposition to the deployment of missiles in western Europe and the disruption of the military balance in Europe by the United States by deploying Soviet SS20 missiles near the border of western Europe and by many other measures. The statement made by Y.V. Andropov has reflected the Soviet Union's stand, a stand based in principle, of not allowing the United States and NATO to achieve military superiority and disrupt the strategic military balance in Europe and the world. Because, the maintenance of this balance is the premise of peace. Therefore, the stern measures taken by the Soviet Union and Warsaw bloc were totally necessary measures that they were forced to take. These measures are only designed to protect the security of the Soviet Union, the socialist communities and the other countries, protect the civilization of mankind and man's right to live on this planet. For this reason, a worldwide movement is arising to support and respond to the above mentioned statement by Y.V. Andropov. Never before have the people of the world, including the

people of western Europe and North America been so politically sensitive to an issue or participated in the struggle to safeguard peace and oppose the U.S. imperialists as widely and strongly as they did last year. This situation refuted the vile slander of the Chinese authorities that both the United States and the Soviet Union are the cause of tensions, the purpose of which is to direct the struggle for peace by the people of western Europe toward both the United States and the Soviet Union, essentially the Soviet Union. The course of the struggle between the two opposing forces last year further showed that the Soviet Union and the socialist community are the trustworthy allies of all nations.

The counter-attack by the imperialists and reactionaries caused difficulties to the national liberation and national independence movement, especially in Central America, the Caribbean and the Middle East. However, on the other hand, it also caused the struggle by nations to protect their independence and sovereignty to develop even more strongly. Never before has this struggle been as closely associated with the struggle for peace and economic development or become such a global trend as it did last year. The strength of this struggle originates in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are the countries that are directly threatened by and bear the most severe consequences of the bellicose, arms race policy of the United States and the prolonged and serious economic crisis of international capitalism.

Although many disagreements still exist as a result of their different political systems, in the face of the counter-attack launched by the imperialists, the non-aligned countries realize that unity is of utmost importance in strengthening and developing the movement into a combined force that has an important voice in resolving world issues related to the interests of each country. The non-aligned countries have become increasingly aware of the need to unite, assist and cooperate with the socialist countries and progressive forces if they are to win victory in their struggle against imperialism and achieve the goals of the movement. The plan of the United States, China and their followers to steer the non-aligned movement, in particular, and the struggle by the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in general, away from the path of anti-imperialism and down the path of "opposing both superpowers," "opposing both blocs" has been dealt an important defeat. The bellicose policy of the United States, the imperialist powers and the other reactionaries toward the non-aligned countries has been sternly denounced. Never before has the United States been as isolated as it was following the recent invasion of Grenada. Whereas deep antagonism developed between the United States and the Latin American countries following the Malvinas incident, following the U.S. invasion of Grenada and the acts of aggression by the United States in Lebanon and other regions, an anti-American movement stronger than any since the Vietnam war has developed in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In Central America and the Caribbean, the policy of aggression and intervention of the U.S. imperialists made the situation very serious. However, in the face of the aggressive and bellicose nature of the Reagan administration, Cuba, Nicaragua and the other progressive forces heightened their vigilance, strengthened their unity and remained determined to protect

their independence and sovereignty. The revolutionary forces of El Salvador continued their strong attacks against the enemy. The countries of Latin America developed even closer relations with Cuba and Nicaragua. The United States became isolated even within Latin America.

The Middle East situation in 1983 continued to be very complex as a result of the United States strengthening its support of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and sending forces to directly intervene in Lebanon. This action served to bring the resistance movement of the Lebanese, the Palestinian people and the Arab countries to a new stage of development. The antagonism between the Palestinian people and Arab countries and the United States became very deep. At the same time, the antagonism between the Arab people and the reactionary ruling powers of a number of Arab countries also developed strongly. This not only buried the separate Israeli-Egyptian agreement once and for all, but also defeated the plan of the United States to use the issue of a separate peace to divide the Arab countries and isolate the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the active Arab countries. The recently signed Israel-Lebanon agreement collapsed. The plan of the United States to exclude the Soviet Union from a Middle East solution is also being defeated. The relations between the Soviet Union and the Arab countries, primarily Syria, are being strengthened. On the other hand, in the face of the tenacious fight being waged by Lebanese and Palestinian resistance forces, the U.S. contingent of the multi-national force in Lebanon faces the danger of becoming seriously bogged down there. The Middle East situation in 1983 proves that the Palestinian revolution and the revolution of the Arab nations, although attacked by the enemy and weakened by internal disagreements, are continuing to develop.

The salient feature of the situation in Africa last year was that the trend to unite against the imperialists continued to be the dominant trend. The success of the Conference of the Organization of African Unity (June, 1983) in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) following a year of crisis defeated the attempt by the United States and other imperialist powers to divide and break up this organization.

The reactionary forces headed by South Africa intensified their activities against the revolution in Angola, Mozambique and Namibia and created difficulties for the front-line countries and the resistance movement in Namibia and South Africa. However, the imperialists and reactionaries were defeated in their attempt to divide the front-line countries in order to prevent them from continuing to support the struggle of the people of Namibia and the people of South Africa. The countries of southern Africa have high praise for the role played by Cuba as well as the support of the socialist countries for the struggle against the U.S. imperialists and South African reactionaries.

The highlight of the struggle by the working class and laboring people of the capitalist countries in 1983 was the close link between the struggle for improved economic welfare, democracy and social progress and the struggle against the arms race and nuclear war policy of the United States. In particular, the movement among the people of western Europe against the deployment by the United States of medium range missiles in those countries developed very strongly through very diverse and flexible forms and methods of

struggle. Although the United States succeeded in pressuring a number of western European countries into deploying missiles, this movement has continued to grow and contributed to the struggle by the socialist and non-aligned countries to reduce the threat of war and insure that the governments of the western countries do not dare give the United States unconditional support in the deployment of the missiles in western Europe. The struggle by the working class and laboring people of the developed capitalist countries for higher wages, lower taxes and improved welfare put the bourgeois governments of these countries in a position of constantly being on the defensive and led to internal crises in many countries. The prestige of the groups in power in a number of countries has constantly declined. The forces of the left, which include the communist parties, are growing in many countries.

The year 1983 also marked growth on the part of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

In the face of the fine development of the situation in the three countries on the Indochina peninsula and in view of the weakness and deep divisions of the Kampuchean reactionaries, a number of ASEAN countries displayed an increasing inability to accept China's policy of stubbornly opposing Vietnam and supporting Pol Pot to the end. The antagonism between China and the ASEAN countries became even more obvious.

At the start of 1983, after winning an overwhelming majority of votes and retaining the seat of the Pol Pot clique at the United Nations for the fourth consecutive year, China, the United States and the ASEAN countries made their most concerted effort ever to make the so called "Democratic Kampuchea Coalition Government" a reality at the high level conference of the non-aligned countries at New Delhi. But China and the reactionaries suffered a tragic defeat.

However, to this day, China's plot against Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea remains unchanged, and has even become more intense. In 1983, in conjunction with intensifying their wide-ranging war of sabotage against Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles resorted to a new clever trick, raising a false banner of peace and negotiation and, in particular, using the negotiations it was forced to enter concerning relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in a vain attempt to divide and isolate Vietnam, undermine the solidarity between Vietnam and the Soviet Union and undermine the special relations among the three countries on the Indochina peninsula. On the other hand, China continued to collaborate with the United States and the ASEAN countries in a strenuous effort to oppose Vietnam in every international forum.

With the United States and China advocating a policy of promoting the restoration of Japanese militarism, the establishment of a United States-Japan-South Korea alliance and promoting strategic cooperation among the United States, Japan and China while gradually increasing the U.S. presence in Asia, East Asia and the Pacific have increasingly become a region of strategic importance, a region of which southeast Asia is a very important part. Against this background, the improvement and strengthening of the cooperation and unity between the Soviet Union and Vietnam as well as the unity and

cooperation between the Soviet Union and the three countries on the Indochina peninsula are important factors in the defeat of each plan of the United States and China to reverse the situation within the region, are the fundamental prerequisite to maintaining peace and stability in East Asia and the Pacific, most importantly in Southeast Asia.

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